2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A W11 Kerala A W11
Central Kerala Nayar

lords and tenants through indigenous Muslim middlemen. At that time the middlemen appear to have paid the villagers directly in cloth, metals, and luxury goods. Sumptuary laws confined the use of many imported goods to Brahmans, Nayars, and merchants. Other strategic goods such as metals and cloth filtered down from the landlords and tenants to the lower castes in the form of customary gifts at festivals.

During the period of European trade (1500 to 1792) markets and cash transactions encroached further upon the subsistence economy of villages. The kings prosecuted larger and larger wars and increasingly paid their Nayar soldiers in cash, even though they continued to muster them through the Nayars' "feudal lords."[8] As the pepper and coconut trade increased, new gardens came under cultivation and landlords and tenants often sold their spices for cash. The Nayar retainers seem to have received most of this cash from the towns, for as tenants they held the bulk of the village's garden lands as well as receiving their payments in war. From about 1550, therefore, landlords, who wished to maintain control of the economy, had to develop some means of extracting money from their tenants. Cash payments thus became a regular feature of the *kānam* tenure (Logan, 1951, I: cxxxi). The tenant periodically advanced a cash sum to the landlord as a kind of forced loan, the interest on which was then set off against the annual payment in kind. At the death of either landlord or tenant 13 per cent of the original sum was deducted from the loan as a succession fee. The tenant might then repay this amount in cash or revert to paying a larger share in kind. Later in the period cash renewal fees seem to have been exacted by landlords every twelve years. In some cases the tenant would prefer to surrender his land or to sell his right and move his family to another village. Sales of landlord rights, even (near the ports) to Europeans or Muslims, also increased. However, sale of either landlord or tenant rights remained disreputable, lengthy, and hedged about with legal restrictions until after the collapse of native rule (K. P. P. Menon, 1929: 309–310; Logan, 1951, I: 597 *et seq.*; II: cxxxv).

[8] I use the term "feudal" here without precise definition. In many respects the political structure of the Central kingdoms was comparable with that of the stronger Western European principalities such as Flanders and Normandy in the second half of the eleventh century. There was centralized control of the judiciary, of armies, trade, and coinage, but within each principality subordinate lords retained minor judicial powers and owned domains and private armies (Stephenson, 1942: 80–92).

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A Wll Kerala A Wll
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a favor"; and the Dutch Captain Nieuhoff observed in 1664 that "It is commonly reported in these parts, that the kings of Venmani made a law, by which a man was empowered to kill any woman that should refuse him a kindness" (quoted in K. P. P. Menon, 1908: vii–viii). These quotations are especially interesting because they suggest that, in Travancore as in Central Kerala, plural unions on the part of women were not merely permissible but, in theory at least, enforceable by law.

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Similarly, Nayar informants of a village near Haripad in Central Travancore told me that they understood that "long ago" Nayars of Travancore had the institution of the visiting husband together with polygyny and non-fraternal polyandry, like Central Kerala Nayars. The same informants reported that during the nineteenth century, after the Nayar armies were disbanded, residence became avunculocal among Nayars in this area of Travancore, non-fraternal polyandry died out, and for a few decades some Nayars practised fraternal polyandry, with a group of brothers assuming collective responsibility for one or more co-resident wives and their young children. Other writers also mention relatively modern cases of fraternal polyandry among Travancore Nayars (Iyer, 1932; Fawcett, 1901: 241). Later in the nineteenth century and during this century, however, Travancore matrilineal property groups began to disintegrate, and fraternal polyandry gave place to monogamy. The Central Travancore sequence of duolocality with group marriage, to avunculocality with fraternal polyandry, to partial neolocality with monogamy, is an interesting one in view of the fact that fraternal polyandry has, as far as I am aware, always been strictly forbidden among both duolocal Nayars of Central Kerala and avunculocal Nayars of North Kerala throughout the historical period. I was able to spend only a fortnight in Travancore and could not pursue the comparison.

595 175 184 178 [591] [114]

The marriage of a woman to more than one man concurrently is not confined to the Nayars in southwest India. The double unilineal Tiyyars and some other higher polluting castes of Central Kerala had fraternal polyandry, and both fraternal and non-fraternal polyandry were customary among the Toda tribe of the Nilgiri hills. The Coorgs to the east of North Kerala are also said to have had fraternal polyandry associated with patrilineal descent groups. The prevalence of various types of polyandry in southwest India generally suggests that *some* form of plural unions for women may have been very ancient among the Nayars, possibly predating their organization into kingdoms.

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4:Gough E-5 (1947-1949, 1952)1958 AWll Kerala AWll
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Raman Menon, however, records a legend of a mother's brother who deliberately betrayed a nephew, whom he hated, to the vengeance of a lineage currently feuding with his own.[6] The nephew was to have been killed by his enemies on the following day. But in the night his mother prayed for the return of her son's elder brother who was absent in a distant land. The lineage ghosts miraculously brought home the brother in time to save his junior's life. It must be remembered, moreover, that the belief that the deceased himself would become a lineage ghost capable of wreaking vengeance probably formed a sanction against intralineage murder.

Women are excluded from the ancestral shrine during their pollutions and may not enter it on the day of propitiations. The former prohibition is related to the whole concept of bad sacredness associated with emissions of the body, which prevents women from touching or eating with others or entering any sacred place during their pollutions. That women should be totally excluded from the shrine on days of propitiation seems also to relate to the general position of women in the society. As in most of the higher Hindu castes, women traditionally played a very minor role in economic production, for the work of production was done by the lower castes. A few women were scholars, and a few were even trained in arms, but the Nāyars' occupation as soldiers in general tended to exclude women from work outside the home. The bearing of children was by far the chief value of women. Correspondingly, women were subordinates in the legal sphere. They were throughout life under the legal guardianship of men, might not take part in public deliberations, and might not act as witnesses in the village court. The legal subordination of women may have been partly connected with their comparative lack of value in economic production, and perhaps partly, with the great moral authority they derived from childbearing—for female procreation was very highly valued and male envy of these functions was overt. The cult of lineage ghosts supports the correct operation of male legal authority within the *taravād*. The exclusion of women from participation in it, and their exclusion from the shrine on days when their procreative functions were most apparent, perhaps expresses in a formal manner the notion that the power which women derived from these functions was polar and even antipathetic to the legal and economic power of men.

Although the lineage ghosts had only subsidiary judicial functions, their cult served in several ways indirectly to maintain right relationships within the *taravād*. First, a *kāranavan* who respected and correctly propitiated his own forebears provided a role model of piety for his juniors in their relations with living elders. Second, the ghosts, as we have seen, provided some sanctions against a *kāranavan's* ill treatment of his wards. Levy,[7] in connection with the Chinese ancestor cult, has pointed out the importance of having supernatural agents to whom a human authority owes deference, in social units where the authority is not chosen by his subordinates and cannot easily be manipulated or removed by them. For the authority's good behavior toward his subordinates then becomes a part of his sanctioned duty toward his own supernatural authorities. In the Chinese cult, which in this respect resembles the Brahman, the head of a family must care for his patrilineal descendants because it is part of his duty to the ancestors to provide happy and prosperous offspring. For these, by their own later ancestral offerings, will save the forebears' spirits, and his own, from suffering in the life after death. In the Nāyar case, the *kāranavan* must keep his *taravād* in good order because if he does not do so the lineage ghosts may inflict suffering on all, including himself.

Third, the ghost cult obviously provides one explanation for the cause of misfortunes, and offers a course of action whereby these may supposedly be allayed. Further, the *taravād's* collective responsibility for its misfortunes in a sense makes the ghosts a common threat to its members, for all may suffer from their anger. The ghost cult thus enhances the sense of unity and common destiny of *taravād* members.

Psychological analysis. The problem of the circumstances under which cults of punitive ancestors arise does not seem to have been solved in culture and personality writing. Freud[8] derived all forms of fear of, and taboos relating to, the dead, from ambivalence felt to these kinsfolk during life. Mead[9] in 1930 granted a probable universality of ambivalence to the dead, but pointed out that whereas Western Europeans tend to emphasize affection and grief toward the dead and to suppress hostility, some societies give ceremonial emphasis to the hostility and suppress the expression of affection and grief. Others appear to permit an equal expression of both hostility and grief, and Mead thought that personal conflicts relating to the dead may be almost eliminated when both attitudes find ceremonial expression. She argued that the choice of which attitude should be uppermost in ceremonial expression was "a function of the civilization in which the individual lives," but did not at that time attempt to relate attitudes to the dead to specific types of relationships with the living.

Opler,[10] in an analysis of Chiracahua and Mescalero Apache usages relating to the dead, has shown that these exhibit mixed feelings of grief and hostility, and has derived these from ambivalence to living relatives engendered in the matrilocal extended family. But Opler's analysis, convincing though it is, leaves us again with the problem that probably all social relations, and especially all kinship relations, are to some extent ambivalent. Why then do some societies express ambivalence in mixed attitudes to the dead, others in predominantly hostile attitudes with the benevolent aspects suppressed, and still others in predominantly benevolent attitudes with the hostile aspects suppressed? A more intricate analysis of types of ambivalence is required. Attempts in this direction have been made by a number of recent writers, notably Kardiner, Fortes, Roheim, Hsu, Mead in later writings, and Whiting and Child[11] in a cross cultural survey of beliefs about evil spirits and demons. Building on the theories of these writers, I shall try to find meaningful connections between Nāyar attitudes to lineage ghosts and their attitudes to living matrilineal kinsfolk of the preceding generation.

Nāyar lineage ghosts are oriented toward the living. Although Nāyars state that good spirits go to a heaven of sensual pleasures and bad spirits to a hell of physical torture, they do not elaborate this belief or refer to it in connection with the cult of lineage ghosts. They believe that their forebears were sorry to die and are envious of the living. The forebears retain affection for their lands and houses and continue to be interested in tangible good things, particularly in food and drink. These attitudes appear to form part of a general this-worldly attitude among traditional Nāyars. As a caste, their chief interests have been in land and houses, political power, and military exploits. They are not ritual specialists. Most Nāyar men and many women were traditionally literate in Malayālam. Malayālam poems, dramas, and translations based on the great epics, the *puraṇas* and the *Bhāgavad-Gītā*, brought the content of much Sanskrit literature to them in a comprehensible form. Nevertheless, comparatively few Nāyars were philosophers or scholars. Among the great majority, ascetic practices were oriented chiefly toward averting misfortunes in this life rather than to accumulating religious merit against the life to come.

4: Gough E-5 (1947-1949, 1952)1958 AW11 Kerala AW11
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however intimately related to his children he may have been, he belongs to a different economic and legal corporation. In death as in life, he has no publicly supported authority over his children. Children do have a personalized relationship with their father's spirit in Kottayam, however, which is discussed below.

The emotional content of the relationships with lineage ghosts among the Nāyars does not depend upon the fact that they follow matrilineal descent, although of course the role-structure of the cult is determined by this fact. The Iravas[13] of this area, who are tenant cultivators of lower rank than the Nāyars, have small patrilineal lineages and patrilocal extended families, cross-cut, traditionally, by dispersed exogamous matrilineal clans. The Irava patrilineage is called a *taravād* and is headed by its senior male member as *kāranavan*. The Iravas have a cult of dead patrilineal *kāranavans* almost identical in emotional and belief content with that of Nāyars. So also do the Coorgs, a patrilineal caste of the small province east of Kottayam, well described by Srinivas.[14] The common form of the cult and the similarity of detail in this general area must undoubtedly be attributed to diffusion or to a common historical origin. Nevertheless, the question then arises of why this cult was not diffused to all castes of the southwest coast, notably to the Brahmans. Conversely, we may ask why the Brahmanical cult of ancestors, which is quite different in form and content, did not entirely replace the ancestral cults of the non-Brahman castes centuries ago—for these castes have been exposed to Brahmanical culture probably for two thousand years and have in fact adopted many elements of that culture. Moreover, cults of punitive ancestors similar to the Nāyar cult are very widespread in the world. It seems certain that whatever their historical origin, the reasons for the perpetuation of these cults must be sought in the role-structure of the kinship system and the emotional content of relationships with major figures of the senior generation within it. I would suggest that cults of predominantly punitive ancestors are likely to be accompanied by kinship relationships in which the senior generation retains control over the junior until late in life, but in which major figures of the senior generation are not highly idealized. It seems probable that the chief sanction against value-violating behavior will be fear of some tangible form of punishment, rather than fear over loss of love, and that although open expression of aggression toward disciplinary figures is controlled, the aggressive component in the ambivalent relationship to seniors will be strong and not deeply repressed. Among Nāyars and Iravas of my acquaintance, at all events, a man may even be conscious of his ambivalence toward seniors, and to the extent that he is not able fully to accept his own aggressive feelings he seems to project these in the belief that his superiors are even more punitive than they may really be. A portion of this projected aggression his culture encourages him to displace on the figures of lineage ghosts, who can inflict even more serious punishments than can living superiors. As is frequently the case in our own society, the mechanism of projection seems to be closely allied with that of introjection, which appears in the belief that sickness and mental derangement are caused by the entry of a hostile ghost into the body of the patient.

The nature of traditional Nāyar relationships to their lineage ghosts may be clarified by contrasting them with those of Brahmans. I choose for this purpose the Tamil Brahmans of Tanjore,[15] with whom I am best acquainted. This caste of landowners and ritual specialists has patrilocal extended families and patrilineal lineages. Headship of the extended family does not, as among Iravas and Coorgs, pass down the line of

4: Gough E-5 (1947-1949, 1952)1958 AW11 Kerala AW11
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father is highly ambivalent; for as head of the family he is the source of many frustrations. After death, aggressive elements do seem to appear covertly in the horrifying picture of hell and in the fear that by failing to perform the ancestral rites correctly, and to live piously, the son may imperil his ancestors' souls. But aggression against the parents seems to be too deeply repressed for them to be thought of, alive or dead, as themselves aggressive. Instead, the Brahman seems to effect a reaction formation against his aggression which appears in unusual concern for the ancestors' safety, and in the anxious need to perform numerous rites which will ward off from them the punishment of the god of death. I do not mean to suggest that every Brahman handles aggression toward elders solely and precisely in this way, or that every Nāyar handles the same troublesome impulses by projection. I would suggest, however, that both socialization and belief system encourage these different modes of handling aggression toward authorities, and that a change in any one of these areas would be likely to produce change in them all.

A more apt contrast with the Nāyar cult would be that of the Nambūdiri Brahmans, who live in contact with the Nāyars and from whom the Nāyars have derived many elements of their religion. Unfortunately, the religious orthodoxy of the Nambūdiris prevented me from studying them intimately. The information which I have from Nambūdiri informants and from literature[16] indicates however that their ancestral cult is similar to that of the Tamil Brahmans. Its role structure is different, for in the Nambūdiri patrilineal household only the eldest son may have Nambūdiri descendants. Younger sons may have Nāyar children, but these are totally excluded from the performance of rites for their dead fathers. Headship of the Nambūdiri family, like that of the Ĭrava, passes from the eldest son down the line of brothers and then drops to the eldest son of the junior generation. There is both a collective cult of dead patrilineal heads and also separate anniversary rites for individual dead. Both types of ritual take the Sanskritic form. If the deceased was a younger son, his eldest brother's sons perform these rites. Nambūdiris hold the same beliefs about the fate of the soul as do Tamil Brahmans and, like them, deny that the spirits of ancestors are punitive. The informal intimacy of behavior between men of senior and junior generations in the Nambūdiri household is also very similar to that among Tamil Brahmans, and contrasts with the formal etiquette of partial avoidance between Nāyar matrilineal kinsmen. It is somewhat extraordinary and interesting to note that the Nambūdiri Brahmans and the Nāyars, through centuries of close proximity and hypergamous marital unions, have retained totally different legal and emotional relationships within their respective unilineal units, with correspondingly different beliefs connected with their ancestral cults.

Although the Nāyars' relationships with ghosts are similar in important respects to those with living elders, they are significantly different in others. The ghosts' powers are not limited by the demands of reality, and they can magically protect and punish in fantastic ways in which human elders cannot. As Fortes points out for the Tallensi ancestors, the ghosts appear "as a standardized and highly elaborated picture of the parents as they might appear to a young child in real life—mystically omnipotent, capricious, vindictive, and yet beneficent."[17] It is while a child is comparatively helpless that his elders appear in this form. As he grows up and gains competence, the elders shrink to human proportions. But in some areas of living a Nāyar was traditionally helpless throughout life—with regard to flood and drought, many sicknesses, and

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SNAKE WORSHIP AMONG THE NAYARS OF SOUTH INDIA

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NO species of animal has impressed mankind to the same extent as the snake apparently has. Startling indeed is its power of sudden appearance and disappearance; and its gliding motion, without appendages, gives it an eerie quality. The lightning suddenness of its bite and the tragic consequences, coupled with its amazing swiftness, place the snake in a category of its own. Above all its habit of casting off its skin periodically endows it with a supposed immortality which becomes the cause of its extreme veneration. Snake worship is very widespread in the world and is attended by varying rites and ceremonies. In India, where many species of snakes abound, the cult is very widespread. Perhaps due to the variety of species and the consequent danger and damage involved, snake worship in India may have had a local origin, though J. Tod traces its origin to a Central Asian tribe called Tak.[1]

[114]

It is significant that in the very rude and low cultures, among tribes like the Veddahs and Andamanese, and to some extent among the Australians, snake worship is not found. The Australians do have totemic clans named after snakes, but no special veneration is paid to snakes as such. In West Africa, on the other hand, among the Dahomey tribe the monster python Dahu Sio is worshipped as a great god, and is propitiated for favourable weather, for oracles and for wealth. Even in the Palaeolithic period snakes were held in esteem, judging from the carved snake figures on the batons de commandment, and also during Mesolithic period as evinced by snake paintings on the painted pebbles of Mas-d-Azil.

E. W. Hopkins observes that in the Vedic Age snake worship was widely prevalent in India, and references are made

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to Abibuduya, the serpent of the deep. Further, an inscription at Banavasi in Kanara in South India, records the erection of a cobra stone in the middle of the 1st century A.D.

In Chamba district the 'golden snake' is offered milk.[2] In Bengal the snake goddess Manasa is worshipped widely, and this is supposed to give protection from snake-bite. Manasa is represented by an earthen pot with vermilion marks. Among the Meithies of Manipur the snake is believed to be the manifestation of a dead ancestor and is accordingly venerated and worshipped. A cult of the snake god is found among the Khasis of Assam, which however is diminishing now-a-days. Among the Khasis a mythical snake called U Thlen is worshipped and is propitiated by the offering of human blood.[3] It is believed that the Thlen attaches itself to homes and families and is the bestower of wealth, prosperity, fame and well-being to its hosts. However, it needs regular and periodic propitiation by the offering of human blood, and in the event of its being neglected it brings disease, ill luck and ruin to the unlucky family which has angered it.

In South India and particularly among the Nayars the worship of snakes is an established cult. Snake groves or *kavus*, which are clumps of wild trees festooned with creepers, abound in plenty, usually near the homes of Malayali Hindus. These groves are called *vishathum kavu* (poison shrine) or *nagakotta* (snake shrine). Usually a block of granite is carved into the shape of a cobra's head, called *chitra kutta kalu* and is consecrated at the spot.

In Quilon district, Travancore, near Haripad is a big snake worship centre in the form of the Manarsalil temple. One of the important snake shrines is called *bernie kavu* situated in Chenganur taluk of the Quilon district. In Trivandrum is the great temple of Padmanabha Swami and here one of the important deities worshipped is Ananta, the mighty serpent, upon whose great coils Lord Vishnu reclines on the ocean of milk.[4] Further, in Tirunelveli a temple dedicted to Shankar and the goodess Gomiti called Sankaranianar Koil has a snake mound where worship is offered to serpents in the hope that chronic stomach ailments will be cured by propitiating the

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deity. Besides these, there are innumerable private snake shrines, particularly in pious households.

All diseases or misfortunes are due to the neglect of snakes. Leprosy, itches, sterility of women and deaths due to poison, are attributed to the anger of snake gods. The remedy for snake-bite lies in the propitiation of serpents through worship at the snake shrine. If no such shrine exists, then a diligent search is made and a 'snake stone' is dug up from the vicinity. Thereafter this accidental find of the snake stone is duly consecrated and worshipped, and all the erstwhile troubles are attributed to the inadvertent neglect of the sacred stone. The person dying of snake-bite is taboo, because his body is supposed to be occupied thereafter by the snake god, and it needs to be disposed of in a special manner with particular reverence and specific rituals.

Among the Nayars of South India snake worship assumes unique importance. It is popularly believed that in early times a Pambakattu Nambutiri brahmin brought the serpents with him and left them in their present abode. He however promised to return one day but never did. Strangely enough, in Travancore, a Pambakattu Nambutiri family still resides and is not permitted to enter the Manarsalil temple for fear that the snakes might leave the area and follow the brahmin to his abode. In a special ceremony called *kavu muttam* or the shifting of the snake shrines from one place to another in the compound of the house—if accidentally the shrine is awkwardly situated in a plot of land where construction is to begin—the Pambakattu Nambutiri is called specially to do the necessary shifting ceremony. He purifies the new area and transfers the shrine to the newly consecrated spot, to the accompaniment of sacred incantations. Thereafter there is feasting and the brahmin is paid money and is presented with a set of new clothes. This is in striking coincidence with the legend of origin, and lends credence to the story of the origin of snake worship, particularly in Manarsalil temple in Quilon, as being connected with Pambakattu Nambutiri brahmins.

The plans of snake shrines have much in common, though some are small and some big. The Manarsalil temple

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is surrounded by a series of concentric circles as it were, on the outside is a wide road where fairs are held and much commerce goes on on festive days. The low castes cannot go beyond this outer fringe. Lodged within, is the garden where the snakes are to be seen in their natural habitat. In this area is a sacred tank, the water of which is rather dirty due to falling vegetation, but which is reputed to be medicinal in property. Here too is a very large vessel into which milk is poured by the priest so that the snakes might be well fed. Within this belt of vegetation and bushes is the shrine itself. There is a verandah with a central hall called *mandapa* with an open space in front, and in the centre is the platform where the snake deities are enshrined. There are two images here, one of Nag Raj with five heads and the other of a serpent with only one head. This is the inner sanctuary where only the priest enters. In Manarsalil temple a virgin priestess conducts the most sacred rites and is considered to be the guardian of the serpents.

A similar position pertains among the Meitheis of Manipur, where a priestess looks after the serpent god called Pak-hangba.[8] Near the verandah is a sacred well from which water is drawn as offering to the deities and is afterwards distributed to the devotees as holy water. It is believed that only pious people can see the snakes in the forest and the wicked cannot. The devotee considers himself blessed if he is able to catch a glimpse of the snake while on his way to the temple.

The common private snake shrine in Travancore lies within the compound of the house, often near the boundary, and away from the main building, in order to best preserve its sanctity and to avoid accidental pollution by inadvertent trespass by some members of the family. The abode of the snake god is called *sarpa kavu*, and this is usually a raised patch of land surrounded by bushes and trees. In the foliage there must be a plant yielding milky sap and in the absence of such a plant, one is planted near the shrine. The trees near the shrine are never cut and the area in the vicinity of the *sarpa kavu* is kept very clean. Often granite images of many-headed snakes with spreading

6:Fawcett G-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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564 According to the Census Report, 1891, they numbered 377,828 in Malabar. The figures found in this useful document offer an instance of the unreliability of casual observation. The author of "A Manual of Malabar Law" describes the peoples of Malabar to some extent, and in his Introduction says: "The Nâyars constitute the major portion of the Malabar population." One hears of Malabar as the land of the Nâyars, as if its inhabitants were all Nâyars. Certainly they may be said to form the most distinguishing feature of the district; but, when we seek in the spirit of accuracy, we find the surprising fact that they number but 14·2 per cent. of its population.

611 The chief immediate interest attached to them lies in
564 the fact of their being the best, that is the fullest, the most complete existing example of matriarchy, or, to be more strictly accurate, of inheritance through females.
[171] This system, obtaining at one time amongst the Celts and other races of Europe, was probably universal in the sense that it existed at some period in the life history of every race of mankind, and is now to be found here and there in the world.

611 That inheritance through females was once the rule
171 in Southern India is fairly obvious. Amongst others the Maravars, who are, so far as we can surmise at present, aborigines in the sense that we know of no earlier inhabitants in the part of the peninsula occupied by them, to this day offer strong proof of this. I refer to the genuine Maravars—the Kondayan Kottai Maravars of Tinnevelly—and not to the offshoots settled in Trichinopoly and elsewhere, who have almost entirely forsaken all the customs of their fathers.* Amongst the Maravars the girl on marriage joins the sept of her husband, but she retains her own sept name, and her children are of *her* sept; not of their father's. Marriage between persons of the same sept name is prohibited; and this is regulated solely through the mothers. The tribe is endogamous; but the septs within it are exogamous. Thus, a man or a girl cannot marry any one of the same sept, having the same sept name (which is inherited through their mother), and *must* marry some one within the tribe but of a different sept to his or her own—of his father's sept or any other. Though property

* Most of the cigar makers of Trichinopoly are Maravars in origin. Their names —— ——Naidu,——Pillay, and so on are borrowed from people of higher castes.

6:Fawcett G-5 (ca. 1900)1915
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devolves through the men, the degrees between which marriage is prohibitive are inherited through the women.*

But the circumstance that inheritance through women was once, perhaps, the rule in Southern India cannot be accepted as of itself proof that the Nâyars are identical with the Dravidians, as the people of Southern India are commonly called. It is not yet time to say whether they are or are not. To the ordinary visitor their outward appearance, customs, habitations, mode of life generally, are very different from what he sees in the Telugu or Tamil countries; for Malabar, "the west coast," is as unlike the rest of the Presidency as Burma. The only other district of the Madras Presidency which resembles Malabar, is Ganjám, more particularly the northern part of it, where the people are almost entirely Aryan. The resemblance between these, the Uriyas of Gumsoor and thereabouts, a fine fighting stock, and the Nâyars of Malabar is very striking. It is not, perhaps, a mere coincidence that in these two furthest remote corners of the Presidency alone, the people at large are to be seen wearing umbrella hats to protect them from the sun.

The Nâyars are divided into clans, (we will call them clans for want of a better term), many of which intermingle through marriage, but some of them are endogamous. The precise number of these clans cannot be given, as it is disputed whether certain of them have a right to belong to the cognate Nâyar body. The names of the clans which have come directly under my measuring instruments are these:—

Kiriyattil.	Kitâvu.
Sûdra.	Pallichan.
Kurup.	Muppathinâyiran.
Nambiyâr.	Vîyâpâri or Râvâri.
Úrâli.	Attikkurissi.
Nalliôden.	Mânavallan.
Viyyûr.	Vengôlan.
Akattu Châma.	Adungâdi.
Purattu Châma.	Adiôdi.
Vattakkâd.	Âmayengolam.
Vangilôth.	

This list is not in order of priority.

* An example of this custom existing in another land may be quoted here from a modern book—'The Caroline Islands,' by F. W. Christian, 1899: "Descent is traced through the mother—a custom tolerably common amongst the Oceanic races in general. Members of the same tipu or clan cannot marry." (Page 74.)

wash the face with the hand on which is a "tambâk" ring. I see in my notes a record of an individual who wore one of these rings on the second finger of the left hand. They are common.

One individual wore two rings of the pattern called triloham (lit: metals) on the ring finger of each hand. Each of these rings was made during an eclipse!

One individual wore a silver bangle as a vow. It was to be given up at the next festival to be held at a place called Kottiôre, a famous festival in North Malabar, the scene of it being far away in the forest under the hills. He also wore a "tambâk" ring on the ring finger of the right hand for luck; and a thin iron ring on the ring finger of the left hand.

One individual wore no jewellery, but there was a small circular tattooed spot in the centre of the forehead over the glabella. Tattooing is not common. This individual is the only one of those examined who was tattooed.

Women.—The style of the jewellery worn by the women will be seen in the *plate*. It is altogether unlike any other South Indian jewellery. The necklaces are almost identical in form, shape and general character with those of Sindh. Silver is never worn.

The lobes of the ears are dilated in childhood generally in the sixth month and in them are worn large spiral rings of white metal or the more solid "tôda," really a handsome ornament, in the groove of which the elongated ear-lobe is almost concealed. It is made of gold. Properly speaking the tôda is an ornament worn exclusively by the Nâyar women. Several necklaces are often worn at the same time. The Venetian sequin, which probably first found its way hither in the days of Vasco da Gama and Albuquerque, is one of those coins which, having found favour with a people, is used persistently in ornamentation long after it has passed out of currency; thus illustrating the well-known thesis that things originally made for use, by and by pass into ornament. There are instances of this use of coins in Europe, of course, as amongst the Swabian peasantry. So fond are the Malayalis—those of Malabar, Cochin and Travancore—of the sequin that to this day there is quite a large trade in imitations of the coin for purposes of ornament. Such is the persistence of its use that the trade extends to brass and even copper imitations of the sequin. The former, brought from Europe, are often seen to bear the

½ [see plate I, facing p. 220 — An.]

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and other female friends of the girl then approach, and give sweetmeats to the couple. The girl then serves food to the boy, and after taking their meals together from the same leaf, they proceed to the pandal, where a cloth is severed into two parts, and each part given to the Manavâlan and girl separately in the presence of Enangans and other friends. The severing of the cloth is supposed to constitute a divorce."

If, as has been said, the "páttu" sung by the Brâhmani, in "*Rig Vêdaswaram*" is in substitution for the Vêdas sung at the Nambûtiri's wedding—because the Vêdas cannot be used by any but Brâhmans—this part of the ceremonial seems to indicate imitation of the Nambûtiris. The Brâhmani is not however a "Brâhman lady" but merely represents one. In North Malabar she is of the Nambîsan caste.

The ceremony is much more analogous to that obtaining in the Bellary district and round about it, through which women, called Basivis, are, after an initiatory ceremony of devotion to a deity, compelled (under certain conditions) to follow no rule of chastity, but whose children are under no degradation, than to the initiation of the Dêvadâsi in her career of harlotry.* It must be said, however, that the ceremony, more especially as modified by poor people, when the Manavâlan is represented by a clay figure adorned with flowers, the handiwork of the girl's mother, looks very like it. But what demands consideration now is the position of Manavâlan to the bride. Does the ceremony confer on him any of the rights of a husband? There is much diversity of opinion on the point. Some say it does, while some say it does not. It seems certain that, as a rule, there can be no cohabitation between the two as a mere corollary of the tâli-tying ceremony. Should there be three girls in a family, *i.e.*, in the same taravâd house, aged, say, 9, 5 and 3, the ceremony is always done for all three at the same time. The only condition as to age of the girl is that the ceremony must be done before she reaches puberty. The bridegroom (to call him so) is selected after consulting agreement between his horoscope and the girl's. He is seated beside her in the marriage pandal, and he invests her with the tâli. They eat of the same plantain leaf (used as a plate throughout Malabar). They are placed in the same chamber, to go through the fiction

* An account of the Basivis, their devotion to deities, etc., by the writer will be found in the "Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay," Vol. II., 6 (1891).

582
613 such children belonging of course, under the Marumak-
[171] kattâyam system, to different Taravâds. We have seen already, when speaking of the Nambûtiris, that this rule of marriage between the children of a brother and sister, never between the children of two brothers or two sisters, is general throughout Southern India. It seems to be common, though there are exceptions, to the Brâhmans and the peoples commonly called Dravidian, with most of whom it is the most fitting marital union.

564 It will be interesting to add here a note on Samban-
553 dham as it is amongst the Akattu Châma, or Akathitha-
585 parisha Nâyars (Akattu inside, parisha class),* by one of themselves. The members of this clan being devoted to indoor services, chiefly writing and casting accounts. To those of the sub-clan attached to the Zamorin who were sufficiently capable to earn it, he gave the titular honour "Mênon," to be used as an affix to the name. The title Mênon is in general hereditary, but, be it remarked, many who now use it are not entitled to do so. Properly speaking only those whose investiture by the Zamorin or some other recognized chief is undisputed, they or their descendants (in the female line of course), may use it. Those invested pay a small fee to the Zamorin. A man known to me was invested with the title Mênon in 1895 by the Karimpuzha chief, who in presence of a large assembly said thrice "From this day forward I confer on Krishnan Nâyar the title of Krishna Mênon." Now-a-days be it said, the title Mênon is used by Nâyars of clans other than the Akattu Châma. Those who belong to the sub-clan who owe Lordship to the Zamorin look to him even now to settle their caste disputes, and for permission to perform the tâlikettu and other important ceremonies. The ceremony to be described is that of this sub-clan.

564 As the old order changeth giving place to new in the
585 distribution of the honourable affix "Mênon," so too doth
178 it change even in such an important piece of life as marriage, or what under another name means the same thing amongst the Nâyars. It is truly sad to read of celebration of a Sambandham ceremony at Calicut whereat there was cake and wine for the guests, and (shades of all the departed!) a ring for the bride. The departure from national and therefore rational custom, for adoption of that which is neither custom nor cere-

* For this note I am indebted to Mr. C. P. Raman Menon, B.A., a prominent Police official of Calicut.

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Men and women who have taken part in the festival are considered to have undergone spiritual purification each in his or her own caste, and to have marked their position in it as well as in the social scale.

Beyond noting that the weirdness of the human tumult busy in its religious effusion is on the last night enhanced by fireworks, mere description of the scene of the festival will not be attempted, and such charming adjuncts of it as the gallery of pretty Nâyar women looking on from the garden fence at the seething procession in the lane below must be left to the imagination for the present, while we must be content with such accuracy as we may attain on all points: neither fancy nor beauty shall allure us from the dull path of precision, for the mere features of the ceremonial are one real concern.

It will have been noticed that the Nambûtiris hold aloof from the festival: they purify the temple before and after, but no more.

The importance attached to the various offices of those who are attached to the temple by however slender a thread, was illustrated by a rather amusing squabble between two of the Mukkuvans (fishermen), an uncle and nephew, as to which of them should receive the silver umbrella from the temple and bear it to the house of the goldsmith to be repaired. How the squabble arose, how indeed there could have arisen a squabble on such a point as seniority between an uncle and a nephew amongst Mukkuvans, whose descent is reckoned from father to son, I know not, but during the festival one of them made a rapid journey to the Zamorin (about 50 miles distant), paid some fees and established himself as the senior who had the right to carry the umbrella. There are points of resemblance between this festival and the village festival of Southern India where the buffalo "devoted" to the goddess of the village is sacrificed, where there is the slaughter of the lamb by the strong teeth of a man, the dressing up in leaves, the man naked and blindfolded going round outside the village while cooked rice and blood are scattered wide, the blindfolded man falling senseless before the goddess at the end of it.*

There are many festivals in Malabar description of which would be very interesting, but information in detail is wanting in my notes, so I must perforce rest content with what has been related of the festival at the

* Described at length by me in the "Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay" some eight years ago.

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Another pilgrim was a man wearing an oval band of silver over the lower portion of the forehead almost covering his eyes; his tongue outside his teeth, kept in position by a silver skewer through it. Had been fasting two years. Much under the influence of the god, and whacking incessantly at a drum in delirious excitement. The skewer was put in the day before, and was to be left in for forty days. Several of the pilgrims wore a handkerchief tied over the mouth, they being under a vow of silence. One poor man wore the regular instrument of silence, the mouth-lock (a wide silver band over the mouth, the ends reaching over the cheeks, a skewer through both cheeks keeping the ends together * and, of course, the mouth open); and he sat patiently in a nice tent-like affair, about 3 feet high. People fed him with milk, &c., but he made no effort to procure food, relying merely on what was given him.

Pilgrims generally go in crowds under charge of a priestly guide, one who, having made a certain number of journeys to the shrine, wears a peculiar sash and other gear. They call themselves pujâris, and are quite *au fait* with all the ceremonial prior to the journey as well as with the exigencies of the road. As I stood there, one of these pujâris stood up amidst the recumbent crowd. He raised his hands towards the temple a little to the west, then spread out his hands as if invoking a blessing on the people around him. Full of religious fervour he was (apparently at any rate) unconscious of all but the spiritual need of his flock.

The use of the mouth-lock is common with the Nâyars when they assume the pilgrims' robes and set out for Palni, and I have often seen many of them garbed and mouth-locked going off on a pilgrimage to that place.

Brief mention must be made of the festival held at Kodungallûr in the northernmost corner of the Cochin State, along the coast, as it possesses some strange features peculiar to Malabar and is much frequented by the Nâyars. Kodungallûr is near Cranganore, the old Dutch Settlement, where was, probably, the Musiris of the Greeks. Tiruvangaikalam, close by, will probably turn out to be the long lost site of the capital of the Chêra kingdom. I have been disappointed in obtaining particulars

* The mouth-lock is not peculiar to Malabar. A description of this form of vow in another part of the Presidency was made by me in the "Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay," Vol. II, No. 2 (1890).

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and deification of ancestors, worship of snakes and kites, ceremonies connected therewith, sacrifice, magic, witchcraft and sorcery—together with the purest form of Vêdic Brâhmanism known in Southern India, of which there is the highest expression in the temples attached to the wealthy Nambûtiri Illams, to which the Nâyar goes daily to pray, to purify his mind after having purified his body by bathing. There is very little to be seen of prayer in Southern India outside Malabar. The great mass of the people (I exclude the Brâhmans, a very minute percentage of the whole) never dream of going to a temple daily to pray; in fact prayer for its own sake scarcely exists. People go in crowds to a temple on the occasion of a festival to make obeisance to the god, and in a vague way to pray, or they will go to fulfil a vow; but going merely to pray by way of self purification of spirit is certainly rare, for this denotes a phase of religion to which the great mass of the people of Southern India has not reached.

Far away in, as it may be said, rural Malabar, I witnessed the ceremony in which the Velichchappâd exhibited his quality. It was in the courtyard of a Nâyar house, to which thronged all the neighbours (Nâyars), men and pretty women, boys and girls. The ceremony lasts about an hour. The Nâyar said it was the custom in his family to have it done once a year, but could give no account of how the custom had originated: most probably in a vow; some ancestor having vowed that if such or such benefit be received, he will for ever after have an annual performance of this ceremony in his house. It involved some expenditure, as the Velichchappâd had to be paid, and the neighbours had to be fed. Somewhere about the middle of the little courtyard, always as clean as a dinner table, the Velichchappâd placed a lamp (of the Malabar pattern) having a lighted wick, a kalasam, which he had prepared, some flowers, camphor, saffron and other paraphernalia. Bhagavati was the deity invoked, and the business involved offering flowers, and waving a lighted wick around the kalasam. The Velichchappâd's movements became quicker, and suddenly seizing the sword he ran round the courtyard (*against* the sun, as the sailors say) shouting wildly. He is under the influence of the deity who has been induced into him, and he gives oracular utterance to the deity's commands. What he said I know not, and no one else seemed to know or care in the least, much interested though they were in the

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754 is truly human. Belief in magic and witchcraft, symbolic
789 hurts and cures, and the like, are very deep in human nature; reason and culture do not efface it. It is one of the earliest heirlooms of the human family, and it will in all probability persist to the end. We cannot think of man as being without it.* Hence the interest in investigating it.

791 But now, as Patelin's Judge said to the draper, let us return *à nos moutons*. There is nothing secret about the profession of the Panikkar. His rites are secret of course. They are *his* secret. But his profession is an honourable one. He is not ashamed of it, nor will he deny it. That is, so long as he confines his talents to the practice of *good* magic.

754 With the professor of the more lucrative *black magic*, it is quite another thing. No one will ever admit publicly that he practises *black magic*.

Black magic.—It would never do to avoid altogether the subject of black magic, which is cultivated and practised to a much greater extent in Malabar than elsewhere in the Southern Presidency. I hope to have more to say about it later on when we come to description of some of the lower races, and for the present we must be content with a rather bare description of it. We have seen already that a few Nambûtiri Brahmans practise it. A few Nâyars also do so. But as a rule the man who really works in black magic is the Parayan.
754 The old story. It is always the man of inferior race who
564 is superior in black magic. The Parayans of Malabar are not, I think, identical with the Pariahs (Parayas) of Southern India. There are obvious differences in physique. In parts of rural Malabar one may see a Parayan's little hut far away on the hill side, but one tries in vain to see and speak to its inmates, who flee into the jungle. The Parayans are complete outcastes, and their presence carries pollution to one of any superior caste within about a furlong. It is not too much to say that, as a rule, they are abhorred as the lowest of the low. They eat beef, and are there-
[262] fore quite outside the pale of Hinduism. I have
[673] heard of fairly well authenticated cases of their stealing children of Nâyars, hiding them away in the forest and

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[171] * The reader who has not given much attention to the subject of Folklore, may be surprised by the evidence of the persistence of these beliefs in England, available in the publications of the Folklore Society, London. See "County Folklore," chapters on Witchcraft, etc.

7:Gough E-5 (1947-1949) 1955 AW11 Kerala AW11
Nayar
Tiyyar
Tamil AW16
Brahman

to the mother. It seems likely that the same unconscious Oedipal fears lie behind the institution of 'real' pre-puberty marriage in high Hindu castes in other parts of India,[1] whose kinship systems, though strictly patrilineal, are similarly characterized by gerontocratic authority and the joint holding of property by lineage-segments. The disappearance of the *tāli*-rite among Nayars and Tiyyars in the past twenty years, and its replacement by a 'normal' post-puberty marriage ceremony, is undoubtedly associated with the collapse of their lineage systems; with the development of cash wages and personal property and thus of a new economic autonomy of young men and a decline in attitudes of submission to elders; with the associated strengthening of the marriage-tie and weakening of the bonds with the mother and other natal kinswomen; with, related to this, a decline of observance of avoidance associated with incest-taboos in the lineage, and a relaxing of the rule of lineage exogamy; and, finally, with an increased emotional autonomy of both men and women in respect of the parental generation which, it must be supposed, accompanies a gradual decline in strength of Oedipal wishes and fears among young and middle-aged men.

It seems probable that my hypothesis concerning Nayar and Tiyyar *tāli*-rites might be shown, given sufficient data, to apply also to certain Middle Indian pre-puberty token marriages recently described by Dr S. C. Dube (1953). In these groups, as in the Malabar castes, the pre-nubile girl who has not been married is regarded as sacred; she would be permanently polluted by any sexual act which took place before the rite was performed. Should she attain puberty before the rite, she falls, like the Malayali girl, into permanent ritual pollution and, though she is not excommunicated, she is inauspicious, is suspected of witchcraft, and may not marry with the normal rites. The token-marriage gives her the status of a married woman, and is followed some years later by a real post-puberty marriage. As among modern Nayars in some parts of South Malabar and Cochin, and among Tamil temple-dancers, the proxy-bridegroom is a weapon (here an arrow instead of a sword). Alternatively it may be a wooden paddy-pounder, probably a phallic symbol throughout southern and middle India. It may be significant that the man who goes through the rites and carries the phallic symbol is the girl's elder sister's husband, a probable father-image to her; and that, like the Malabar 'bridegroom', he is paid for his services. It seems clear from Dr Dube's account that the rite is a symbolic defloration, that it releases the girl from the sexual guardianship of her natal kinsmen, and changes her from a dangerous, sacred, and forbidden creature into a normal woman who may be married without fear. It would be interesting to know whether it is preceded by a mock menstruation ceremony. To test my hypothesis, that pre-puberty mock marriage issues from strong incest taboos and the (originally Oedipal) fear of deflowering a virgin, we should need also to know whether, like the *tāli*-rite, this rite marks a change in the etiquette of behaviour between a girl and her natal kinsmen; whether the incest taboos in these groups are culturally elaborated; whether economic and legal power are in the hands of old men of the kin-group; whether the post-puberty marriage tie

[1] This is particularly clearly so in the Tamil institution Brahman of pre-puberty marriage. Traditionally, a girl must be married before puberty and the marriage consummated in the fifteen days following the first menstruation, if possible, to avoid loss of the female seed after menstruation has begun. Failure to carry out the pre-puberty marriage and prompt consummation after puberty brought opprobrium on the girl's father, who was regarded as an unclean man guilty of embryo murder through failing to give away his daughter's fertility. Pre-puberty marriage (*kanniga dhānam*, 'gift of a virgin') is said to transfer the sexual sin of the girl's father to the son-in-law and thus ensure the father's salvation after death. The Brahmanical pre-puberty marriage is therefore at least partly prompted by incest taboos. The unconscious fear of deflowering a virgin appears in the Brahmanical consummation rites, at which the bridegroom declares his wife to have been previously married to the Vedic gods Soma, Agni, and Gandharva. In some groups, at the rites before consummation, a stick representing Gandharva is placed between the couple and removed before the consummation, at which the bridegroom says: 'O Visvavasu Gandharva, I pray you to make this girl my wife. Unite her to me. Leave her and take another.' Similarly, Brahmans rhapsodize over their former pre-puberty marriages when the girl was an infant and the boy often ten to fourteen years old, on the grounds that the participants were innocent of the sexual implications of the ceremony. As among Tiyyars, the couple were brought to the ceremony on the shoulders of their maternal uncles.

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is strong or (as we should expect) permits divorce and return to the brother's household; whether her natal kinsmen retain strong rights in a woman throughout her life; and whether the virgin is in any way associated in myth with a phallic mother-goddess.[1]

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[1] The male fear of deflowering a virgin, who may be unconsciously associated with the mother and is thus thought of as the rightful property of a father-figure or of an infant son-figure, appears in the marriage customs of several other South Indian peoples. The patrilineal Tamil Non-Brahmans of Tanjore, who have post-puberty marriage, formerly required the brahman priest who performed their marriage rites to deflower the girl as well. The fact that in these castes the mother's brother is considered the rightful husband of a girl gives further evidence of the belief that a girl should rightly be married by a man of the parental generation. Thurston (1906, pp. 49–50) reports that in the Malayali hill-tribe of Salem (also Tamil) a small boy is married to a mature woman, but the bride's father-in-law and not the husband cohabits with her and begets children on behalf of his son. When the son reaches maturity and his own legal sons are married, he in turn cohabits with their wives and raises children on behalf of his 'sons'. The Vellalas of Coimbatore are said to have a similar custom, in which a boy marries a mature woman, with whom the girl's father-in-law cohabits until the boy is adult. Similarly among the Reddis of Tinnevelly, a boy of five is reported often to be married to a girl of twenty. The girl after marriage cohabits with one of her own kinsmen on the maternal side, frequently her mother's brother, or else with the father of her boy-husband. When the husband grows up, he may in some cases never cohabit with his wife, but instead form a liaison with the wife of some other boy-kinsman. Among the Tamil Vallambans a boy is obliged to marry one or other type of cross-cousin, who may be older than himself. The girl then cohabits with her husband's elder brother, mother's brother or father, and the boy-husband legitimatizes the children when he comes of age. In all these customs we appear to have the reflection of a strong Oedipal conflict which, on the one hand, prevents a man from deflowering and sometimes from cohabiting at all with his wife and causes him to give her to his father or some other father-figure, and, on the other hand, gives such free rein to incestuous desires towards women of the filial generation as to permit men to deprive their social 'sons' of their legal wives. The defloration of a girl by one who is a father-figure to her husband is not, of course, confined to India, but appears for example in the European custom of the *droit du seigneur*. At the initation of a Banaro girl, her prospective bridegroom's father, being 'ashamed' to do it himself, engaged his sib-friend to deflower the girl (Thurnwald 1916, p. 261).

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as *Ammari Amma*, the first word being the same as the wife of the mother's brother, and the second an honorific addition to it. Dr. Rivers, in *Kinship and Social Organisation*, as well as in *Melanesian Society*, has conclusively shown that wherever first-cousin marriage prevails, there the mother-in-law has no special name. His explanation that this is due to the obvious fact that, in most cases, the mother's brother's wife is the same person as the mother-in-law, and that the former position was antecedent to the latter, is fully borne out by the terminology among the Nāyars.

Another relation of importance in the Nāyar family life is the father's sister. She has a special name and has a very special function to perform. In Middle Travancore she is called *Appachi*. Her importance varies according to the status of the father's family. If the father's family is one of greater importance than one's own, then the father's sister is a person to be consulted on various matters with regard to the child. In any case she should be the first to visit the new-born child. This is called "*Kannom Kalcha*." In the marriage ceremony also she has a prominent place.

Enangar.—The whole of Nāyar family life used to be based, though this has decayed of late, on the close relationship with one or more other families, spoken of as *Enangar* or Allies. A *Tharawad* with its *Enangars* formed *a social group* rarely marrying outside its fold and generally arranging all festivities and ceremonies between themselves. Neither funeral rites, nor marriage ceremony, nor even any one of the hundred other minor things which go to make up the ordinary life of a Nāyar family, can take place without the co-operation, or at least the presence, of a member from the *Enangar* or allied families. The *Enangar* families are always of the same sub-caste, with a right to eat with you and enter any part of your house.

The *Enangar* system is evidently a kinship organisation, forming an inter-marrying class. The question of its origin is a very difficult one. The prevalent opinion is that it originated in the days when Nāyars fought and farmed in alternate months, when a kinship organisation of some sort was very necessary for safety and success. This organisation has become very lax of late, though it cannot in any way be said to be dying out.

Marriage Restrictions.—The marriage restrictions prevalent among the Nāyars have nothing much peculiar from the rest of the Hindu society. The bride must always be younger than the man, and must in strict orthodoxy belong to the same generation as his. He may not marry his mother's sister's daughter, who is to him as his own sister. All his sisters, own and collateral, together with ladies of a previous generation in his family, form a legal incestuous group. A man has, therefore, to marry either entirely out of the circle of his relations, or from among his *cross-cousins*.

Cross-cousin marriage[1] is the orthodox custom. Your maternal uncle's

[1] By cross-cousins I mean children of brother and sister. The relationship is expressed by the word *Machuna*, which is, it should be noticed, the same as in the Toda language. Among

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daughter never calls you by any name which, in the Hindu code of manners, is done only with regard to the husband. She is your *a priori* wife, if such an expression could be used. She is spoken of as the *Mura Pennu* (*Mura* = customary, and *Pennu* = female or wife, meaning customary wife). 582

Unlike other Hindus a Nāyar may marry a girl from a lower sub-caste as long as she also is a Nāyar. He cannot marry a woman whose caste is higher than his own without the wife losing her caste. A Nāyar lady can choose her husband either from among the allied families or others, provided they are of the same or superior sub-caste. Also, she can marry from anyone of the higher castes, i.e., either from the Brahmins or from the Kshatriyas. The alliance between the Malabar Brahmins and the Nāyars is a social fact of very great interest. In no other part of India is a Brahmin allowed to marry out of his own caste. In Malabar, on the other hand, among the Nambudiris or the Aryan immigrants, only the eldest member of the family can marry among the Brahmins, the others being forced to marry among the Nāyars. The permanence through ages of matrilineal descent among the Nāyars is due to this fact. The Brahmins, being of a superior caste, and the Nāyar wife of the Brahmin being unable to live in her husband's family, the system tended to be matrilineal as well as matrilocal. Also, since the children of such a marriage are Nāyars and not Brahmins, though the father is a Brahmin, the system remained wholly unilateral without any definite bilateral development. It is only the very highest among the Nāyars that have connection with the Brahmins. Through their influence the custom preserved all its strength in the lower classes as well. 582 564

The peculiar custom of the Malabar Brahmins of not allowing their junior members to marry among their own caste introduces a complication into the Nāyar system. The idea underlying such a prohibition is evidently the preservation of the big estates which the Nampudiris own. Since the Nāyar sons of the Malabar Brahmins do not inherit anything from their fathers, their estates remain undivided and descend only to the eldest son. Primogeniture has been the custom in every country where the preservation of big landed property in the hands of a few was aimed at. The undivided family among the Nāyars is also meant to conserve their possession of the land and maintain the political influence resulting from it. A point of utmost importance which should always be kept in mind in this connection is the interaction of economic and social forces. The interest of the Nampudiris to keep their property undivided led to their custom of primogeniture, and this again induced them to use their temporal power and sacerdotal influence to perpetuate the matrilineal system among the Nāyars. Also, the desire to preserve the family estates as a whole, kept the Nāyar families from being divided, making thereby a change to patrilineal system altogether impossible. 428 564 582

the Todas also *Mochuno* (or cross-cousin) marriage is the orthodox custom. See p. 512, Rivers, *The Todas*. Also Appendix, "Similarities between the Nāyars and the Todas." 582 191

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the fourth day this mock marriage is dissolved by cutting to pieces the cloth which was given to them the first day.

The *Kalyanam* days are the gayest in the family, and when it is over women keep on saying, "Ah, it takes another twelve years for this to come."

What is the significance of this custom? It must be said to start with that it has no significance in these days. At least, for the last seventy-five years it has been merely a meaningless ceremony, a survival of a peculiar system of marriage. The tendency in these days has been to abolish it, though the movement to do so has not gained much influence, except in the higher families.

The significance of this custom in ancient days seems to have been this. It is necessary to say that a system of sexual relationship, the laxity of which made it in many cases indistinguishable from promiscuity, seems to have been prevalent among the Nāyars, even as late as the eighteenth century. The literature of the time abounds in allusions as to how fickle ladies jilted their husbands and married others. A child was supposed to be legitimate as long as a man was willing to meet the expenses of child delivery, and that phrase still survives as a form of reproach against a father who does not treat his son well. A chorus of foreign, as well as Indian evidence, however, proves that sexual relations in the higher families were of a more or less permanent character, and were generally monogamous.

The *Talikettu* ceremony was, under these conditions, the actual and religious marriage. After that custom the girl was allowed to choose her own suitor, and when such a suitor, who was her husband, dies, she does not mourn his death, or become a widow, while, when the man who actually tied the *Tali* dies she undergoes certain formalities of mourning. Also the man who tied the *Tali*, though he never sees the girl again, is called "little father" by all the members of the family. All these go to prove that the actual marriage ceremony was the *Talikettu*. It must be remembered that *Tali* (an ornament round the neck) is a symbol of marriage for all Hindus, and among Brahmins all over India the *Tali* round the neck is only broken when the husband dies. If this, then, was the real marriage, what was the actual position occupied by the priest or warrior who tied the *Tali*? The fact that he is conducted to the house after the ceremony seems to point to at least a latent conjugal right. It is quite conceivable that in the days of child marriage this ceremony implied perhaps more than a theoretical right, though, during at least the last hundred years, nothing more than the form has been observed. In this connection it is well to remember a like ceremony performed with great festivities among the *Deva-Dasis* or the "Temple-girls" in other parts of India. They also have a form of marriage which lasts for four days. On each day the girl puts on the dress of the women of different communities, and sits in a big hall, where are gathered together all the women of her local community. This ceremony, it seems, must precede before the girl devotes her life to "temple service." Since the Nāyar women, in olden days, do not seem to have had any settled form of marriage, and were free to

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and wives with others as a universal national custom; (*c*) the absence of "*Sati*."[1]

In view of the fact that the Veddas are a strictly monogamous people, the prevalence of this custom in Ceylon can only be attributed to South Indian influence. Existing as it does in almost physical contiguity, it is indubitable that these customs and the Nāyar customs had the same origin. In fact, a Naga community was spread over the whole of South India, and the pressure of Aryan emigration seems gradually to have driven them behind the western Ghats in the case of the Nāyars and beyond the straits in the case of their kindred in Ceylon.

The Laws of Philology also support this view. I am assured by Don de Z. Wickerma Singhe that the change from "ɑ" to "ʏ" (as from Naɣar to Nayar) is very commonly met with in Dravidian and Prakistic languages. Apart from the general consonance of this change to the philological rules, Mr. Wickerma Singhe also pointed out to me that in Sinhalese[2] the Sanskrit word *Nāga* is written and pronounced as *Naya*.

The word *Nāyar*, therefore, is, without a shadow of doubt, the same as the word *Nāgar*, which means serpent-men.

Note 2.—The Nāyars and the Todas.

Dr. Rivers, in his learned and elaborate study of the social conditions of the Todas, makes some interesting comparisons with regard to their customs and some of the survivals in Nāyar social life. Before venturing to criticise some of his deductions I may be allowed to state that his idea of the emigration of the Todas to their present country from Malabar is probably right, though the evidence that he has adduced does not in any way prove it. The following facts which he has not noticed may give some additional weight to this hypothesis. Among the Nāyars the dairy (*Pal-pura*) is considered a thing to be kept *ceremonially pure*. No unclean person may approach it, and even the pollution of a child-birth is considered to be sufficiently strong to preclude those whom it affects from touching things belonging to the *Pal-pura*. It would be an exaggeration to say that the *Pal-pura* is considered sacred, but it is certainly *purer* than any other part of the house. Also the way in which the Todas convert milk into butter-milk is exactly the same as among the Nāyars. These customs with regard to the dairy are prevalent, not only where there is geographical contiguity between the Nāyar-land and the Toda-land, but also in Middle Travancore, which is at least two hundred and fifty miles from the land of the Todas.

Some, however, of the arguments brought forward by Dr. Rivers would not bear critical investigation. For example, he says[3]: "More important is the custom of

[1] *Ibid.*
[2] Cf. Wm. Greiger, *Sinhalese Etymology.*
[3] Pp. 699–70.

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giving a cloth as the essential marriage ceremony . . . Throughout the greater part of the Malabar coast the essential feature of the marriage ceremony is that the man gives a piece of cloth to the woman. The ceremony of the *Sambandham* marriage (among the Nairs) consists in giving a cloth, and various names such as *Muntu Kodukkuka*, *Vastadanum poduvakota*, and *Putamuri* all mean cloth-giving."[1]

Now with regard to this "essential feature" of the Nāyar *Sambandham*, it may be useful to remember that cloth-giving as a name for marriage did not exist in the earlier half of the eighteenth century. The poet Kunchan Nampiyar, in his works (thirty-two of which are directly or indirectly descriptive of Nāyar life) uses the word "cloth-giving" for *Sambandham* only once:

"*Pennine Patava Kotukkennullathumunnikkittan Potti paranju*"
"*Patrachaicham.*"

This "essential feature," therefore, is most certainly a development of the later half of the eighteenth century. It is, as a matter of fact, only within the last fifty years that cloth-giving as a synonym for marriage has come to be used widely, and even now it is used mostly by the ultra-refined, who consider it improper to utter the name of marriage in company. Therefore, to say that the Todas emigrated from the Malabar coast because of similarity in custom which, among the Nāyars at least, is a very late development, does not carry conviction.

Again, Dr. Rivers sees a "possible link" between Malabar and the Todas in the word *Pul-pali*[2] of the Todas and the ceremony of *Puli Kudi* of the Nāyars. Because of the similarity in these words, Dr. Rivers has suggested[3] "the name *Pulipal* may mean tamarind dairy and be a survival of community between the Toda ceremony and that of Malabar." This is a supreme example of the danger of drawing conclusions from questionable etymological premises. Now *Puli* is a well-known Dravidian word which means both the tamarind tree and the sour taste. It is also used as a verb, in which case it means to make anything sour. Now *pul-pali* does not mean tamarind dairy, but the dairy of sour milk. How this could be a link "between Malabar and the Todas" it is utterly impossible for me to see.

Dr. Rivers has enumerated a number of points in which he sees "a close resemblance between the customs of the peoples of Malabar and the customs of the Todas." But I would submit that all his points in which any similarity could be seen are Dravidian customs belonging not only to the peoples of Malabar but to the rest of the non-Aryan peoples of South India. Therefore the arguments Dr. Rivers has brought forward prove only that the Todas are a Dravidian people. They do not prove that there was any connection, other than that of neighbours, between the Nāyars and the Todas.

[1] Except the last, which means cloth-cutting.
[2] Pp. 701–2.
[3] P. 702.

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the wedding dress is torn and given to the *Chithayan* which signifies the dissolution of marriage. In some places this takes place on the morning of the fifth day, and instead of this ceremoney the *táli* tier is given a fee of eight annas and is dismissed with some presents, and in others the cloth is severed into two parts and each part given to the bridegroom and the bride separately in the presence of *enangans* and other friends. Throughout South Malabar, the severing of the cloth on the fourth day is indispensable and is part of the ceremony, while, in this State, it is said that the custom is not now in vogue. The marriage badge is not removed soon after the divorce, but is worn by the girl till the twenty-eighth day. Some remove it on the fourth or the fifth day, while others wear it for a week.

In poor families, where this ceremony cannot be performed on a large scale, the girls are taken to the nearest temple, and the *táli* is tied by the mother with neither feasting nor merriment. In some cases very poor people take their girls before the deity in the *Trikkákkarappan* temple and tie the *táli*, and very often do such people perform the ceremony on the *Onam* day in front of the clay image (*Mahádévar*) placed in their court-yard.

Where the Thirumulpád is the *táli* tier, he goes through the ceremony for a number of girls, and on receipt of the fee for his service to each girl, he departs in peace. If the *táli* tier, whether a Kshatriya or a young man of the *enangu*, wishes to take her as his wife, he is at liberty to do so with the consent of her parents; and in that case he has to celebrate the *sambandham* by giving her presents of cloth.

In South Malabar and the Cochin State, the general belief among the Nayars is, that the bridegroom has a right to marry her if he wills, and the severing of the cloth shows the dissolution of the marriage tie, which gives her the liberty to choose anybody else as her husband. It is also understood that, with the tying of the *táli*, the virginity ceases, and he who brings or takes her to that stage has a right to cohabit with her, which he relinquishes on the fourth day of the *Tálikettu kalyánam*. Further, the woman observes a sort of pollution for fifteen days for the death of the man who tied the *tali*, which proves that he is her husband. In some parts she merely bathes, and even this has been of late given up.

The following is given to be the explanation of the ceremonial:—There is very little difference between the *Tálikettu*

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kalyánam of the Nayars and the marriage ceremony among other Hindus. All available evidence unmistakably points to the conclusion that the former is, in intention, if not in effect, the actual marriage ceremony of the Hindus. The ceremonials in the two cases differ very little; there is, however, one exception, namely, that in the case of Brahmans and others, vedic *mantrams* are recited, while the Nayars are compelled to substitute Brahmani *pittu* (song), which should be uttered in the *Rig védic swaram*. Ever since the institution of this system of marriage in Kerala, these songs have been in existence, and they invoke the blessings of numerous children for the pair. It must also be noted that, among all Brahmans, the wedding ceremony is divided into two parts, namely, the first in which the ceremonials form the chief feature, known as betrothal, and the second, popularly known as consummation or the real marriage. In the case of Nayars and other *marumakkathâyam* Hindus, the *táli* tying ceremony for a girl, which is performed before the first sign of menstruation, refers to the betrothal, and the *sambandham* to the real marriage. There is this important difference that, while the Brahmans perform the ceremony after the selection of a husband and postpone the union of the couple to a future date, the *marumakkathâyam* people perform the ceremony first and select the husband on the second occasion, *i. e.*, when the girl is fit to be united to her husband. Hence the bridegroom in the first ceremony acts the part of a vicarious husband. But when the husband is ready at hand, it is not unusual for the girl to be actually married on the occasion of *táli* tying. The reason for this departure may have been due to the scarcity of suitable young men in the old troublous times and the consequent difficulty of securing a proper husband for every girl before puberty and the danger of girls being out-casted in default of it. Hence it is that the early legislators have devised this convenient plan to allow every girl to be married in a sense with the necessary religious ceremony, and enable her to remain unmarried for life without being subject to excommunication from caste. This view is supported by the fact, that the Nayars were, till towards the close of the eighteenth century, a fighting race and that there was a great loss of lives in the wars with neighbouring principalities and tribes. As in other matters the letter of the law has been closely followed, without a corresponding adherence to its spirit.

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539 [789] [825] [757] children. Tiger's whiskers have also the same efficacy against demoniacal influence. The flesh is eaten as medicine, while the skin boiled in gingelly oil and strained into the ear, removes deafness.

539 825 There is a common belief that, should the nest of a brahmany kite be found, and one of the young ones be attached to it by a string, the squall breaks away, generally leaving a portion of the line attached to the nest as it becomes strong. The [789] nest which is formed of sticks should then be thrown into a running stream, when, if any of the sticks that compose it float against the current, they will, on being applied to any fetters, cause them immediately to fly into a thousand fragments.

[171] The owl which is an emblem of wisdom in Europe, and the goose that of stupidity, completely change their respective places in the east, the former becoming a symbol of stupidity, the latter that of wisdom.

[787] The hooting of the owl heard at night, has, in all parts of the world and in all ages, been considered ominous of [763] evil, and is consequently much dreaded. In Cochin, it is generally believed, that the hooting of an owl betokens an impending calamity or even the death of an individual near whose abode its loathsome cry is heard; and so, dwellers in the neighbouring houses at once turn out and drive it away.

824 Jack-o'-lantern:—These are called *Kollykutta Pisáchus* 539 (ghosts which emit fire from their mouths), and make their [776] appearance on the side of tanks, rivers, and marshy places during rainy or foggy nights. They fly away or disappear at the sight of men and are much dreaded by the people.

Preëminent among the trees in the town of Cochin, and towering above all others along the sea-shore and sides of the back-water are the cocoanut palms (cocos nucifera linn), every portion of which, from the leaves to the roots, may be turned to some useful purpose.

[776] There is a tradition that the Raja of Benares, who was a stre- [643] nuous worshipper of one supreme God, and rejected the custom of making offerings to inferior divinities, became, in course of time, almost equal to the Gods, and created many of the grains now in common use. As his powers increased, so did his ambition, and he meditated creating another species of human beings very superior to anything then existing in the world. But after he had completed its head, the demi-gods became alarmed and

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291 is no covering for the head. This forms the costume of a [292] large majority of them. On special occasions or when he goes to public places, he has the same loin cloth, while a richer cloth (*pévu mundu*), somewhat longer and broader, is worn over [464] the upper part of the body. As has already been said, Nayars [177] are to be found in all grades of public service, and these as well as others wear a kind of a neat loin cloth, with a shirt and coat together with a turban to cover the head, while others more fashionable appear in European costume with turbans instead of hats: others again wear hats as well, but their number is few. Among the poorer classes, the loin cloth is not larger than a yard-and-a-half or two by three-fourth of a yard.

302 The men shave their faces and bodies clean, leaving an oval patch of hair on the top of the head, while some grow it over a large surface of the head. In both cases, care is taken [177] to keep the tufts sufficiently long, smooth and oily, and this adds considerably to their neat and handsome appearance; but it is becoming the fashion to crop the hair and to dress it in the fashion of the Europeans.

291 The Nayar women wear an inner garment round the loins and this is covered by an outer garment which is usually two-and-a-half yards in length and one-and-a-half yards in breadth. Sometimes, instead of two cloths, one cloth sufficiently long for the purpose is worn. The dress is white, and sufficiently decent to cover the lower part of the body, and a small upper cloth serves as a covering above the waist. The Nayar women of the present day wear petticoats and cover the upper part of their body [369] with a piece of cloth. It is curious to notice that this form of [178] dress does not find favour (in the rural parts) with the Nambuthiris who are either their landlords or to whom they owe some kind of allegiance or subordination. The absence of any covering for the bosom in ordinary female dress has drawn much ridicule on the Nayars, and this custom has been much mis[548] understood by foreigners. So far from indicating immodesty, it is looked upon by the people themselves in exactly the opposite light, for among them prostitutes only cover the breasts. "A custom has in it nothing indecent when it is universal," as [171] one of the travellers philosophically remarks (Dall). It is, in [576] fact, a mark of disrespect to one's own elders and betters for either a male or female of the Nayar caste, and of all castes

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below it, to cover the upper part of the body, and traces of the same custom can still be found among other Dravidian tribes, some of them being people who are anything but uncivilized. The prohibition applies both to males and females. Men moreover cannot wear caps, turbans or shoes, and must divest themselves of these luxuries, when they meet their elders, even though the meeting takes place in the middle of the road. Until 1865, it was forbidden by law for women of the Chóvans and of those of the lower castes to wear any clothing above the loins. The present generation of Nayar women, except perhaps the servants and the poor, have taken to the use of an upper garment and petticoat, in the same way as the Nayar males now freely use a second cloth. Young girls wear a piece of cloth round the loins, while those of four and five years of age wear a small strip of cloth, or a piece of the bark of areca palm. Generally young children of both sexes go about naked.

The subject of hair-dressing and personal adornment is more psychological and ethnological than hygienic. The Nayar women take special care in the growth and preservation of their hair. They use a kind of medicinal oil to improve its growth, and to keep it smooth and shiny. Many a young woman's plait of hair reaches the knee or even lower, and this adds greatly to her beauty. The hair is parted in the middle and tied either tight to the ears or twisted up in front in a sort of cone or sometimes tied into a knot behind.

Jewellery.

The Nayar women are fond of jewellery. They are no doubt partial to gold, but unlike their Brahman sisters they wear very few ornaments for daily use. The oldest ornament of the Nayar lady is the *nágapatam* or serpent's hood, so called from the shape of the pendant. The ear-ornament is the *thóda*, which is a double convex disc, the front surface of which is either plain or set with rubies, for the wearing of which the ear-lobes are sufficiently dilated. This dilating process begins at a very early age, and the ear-lobes, in the case of a majority of the women, become so far distended as to make it possible to wear *thódas* of more than an inch in diameter. The tendency at present is to wear small ones which do not require much dilation. Then come the ornaments for the nose which are *mukkuthi* and *nathu*. These do not find favour with the young women of these days, and what is called the nose-screw set with a ruby has taken their place.

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1.2 per cent of the total area of India, this contribution is quite significant. Yet the per capita income of Kerala in 1955-56 (Rs. 234.4) was lower than the all-India average (Rs. 261) by about Rs. 27, that is, 10.3 per cent.

1.22 The distribution of output and employment between primary, secondary and tertiary activities gives a broad indication of the stage of development an economy has attained. As a general rule, the more advanced the stage of economic development, the higher the proportion of income and employment originating in the secondary and tertiary activities. In Kerala the sectoral distribution of output and employment presents somewhat of a contrasting picture (Tables 3 and 4).[1] In terms of employment, the proportion of working force engaged in agriculture and allied occupations (55%) is much smaller than the corresponding all-India proportion (71.8%). This would seem to indicate that Kerala has perhaps reached a level of development somewhat comparable to that of a country like Japan. But the picture presented is quite different when one looks at the proportion of income contributed by the various sectors. The major share (49.1%) of output still originates in the primary sector (all-India: 45.4%). The secondary and tertiary sectors taken together contribute 50.9 per cent of the output against 54.6 per cent in the case of all-India.

1.23 Thus, while the sectoral distribution of population seems indicative of a diversified structure of the economy, the sectoral distribution of income does not. Two factors seem to provide a plausible explanation for this contrast. In view of the high density of population, the possibilities of providing gainful employment in the agricultural sector are naturally limited. Super-imposed upon this is the fact that as a result of the predominence of perennial crops, especially the coconuts, in the agricultural sector, the cropping pattern in Kerala is comparatively less labour-intensive. As a result of the operation of these forces, a large section of the population appears to have been forced to turn to some sort of non-agricultural activity or the other. But this seems to be of a "make-work" character. The technology of the secondary sector is traditional and its productivity is appallingly low.

1.24 In fact, productivity in Kerala's secondary sector is even lower than in the primary sector. This reversed position of Kerala only points to one of the strange paradoxes that occur in an under-developed economy. Ultimately, it is not so much the sectoral distribution of working force as the sectoral levels of productivity that are the determinants of growth. Productivity, in turn, is a function of the level of technology. Table 4 shows that the net output per worker in the secondary and tertiary sectors is lower than the average for all-India. As may be observed, low productivity is especially marked in the secondary sector which mostly covers the industries (Kerala—Rs. 539 ; all-India—Rs. 1,294).

Agriculture and Plantations

1.25 On the other hand, the primary sector in Kerala is comparatively better developed. This is a distinct feature of the State economy. Primary sector comprises agriculture, plantations, animal husbandry, forestry and fisheries. As may be seen from Table 4, labour productivity in the primary sector of Kerala is roughly

[1] [see pp. 270-271, category 116 -- Analyst]

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50 per cent higher than at the all-India level. Agricultural crops and the plantations, which form the main component of the primary sector, are largely produced for the market and are the basic factors responsible for imparting a high level of productivity to this sector.

1.26 Agriculture in the State is characterized by a high value yielding cropping pattern, good physical yields, a high intensity of cropping and superior cultivation techniques. During 1956-57 the intensity of cropping[1] was 119 per cent (all-India—113%). However, if field crops alone are taken into account, the cropping intensity shoots up to 150 per cent. It is the latter percentage which is the more relevant one, since the area covered by the perennial crops is irrelevant from the point of view of double or triple cropping. All these factors combine to make the agricultural sector of Kerala highly productive, the average level of agricultural output per net cultivated acre in Kerala being about Rs. 360 against Rs. 125 for the whole of India.

1.27 Kerala owes the superiority of its cropping pattern to the large number of high value yielding plantation crops grown in the State. Coconuts, the most important among these, occupy about 20 per cent of the gross cropped area and yield Rs. 450 per acre on an average. Other cash crops in the order of their importance in terms of area covered are pepper, rubber, arecanut, tea, cashewnut, cardamom, and coffee. Taken as a whole, they cover approximately 40 per cent of the gross cropped area.

1.28 Apart from the high productivity aspect of the plantation crops, they are of significance to the economy from two other angles. First, these crops provide the raw material for some of the key industries of the State. Coir making, the most important industry of the State, utilizes the outer husks of the coconuts. Similarly, cashewnut industry, the second most important industry of Kerala, also draws its raw material from the agricultural sector. Besides these, Kerala holds almost a complete all-India monopoly in the production of rubber, which is another important industrial raw material. Secondly, plantation crops derive their prominence from the fact that a large number of crops grown in Kerala find a good export market and are, therefore, very good foreign exchange earners.

1.29 One other feature of the Kerala economy which owes its origin to the agricultural sector may also be pointed out. Unlike the rest of India, where barter trade is still prevalent on a significant scale in the rural areas, Kerala economy is highly monetized. The large number of cash crops grown in the State are all brought to the market for sale. Secondly, since a high percentage of food requirements are obtained from the other parts of India, they are again channelled through the market. A high degree of commercialization of Kerala economy is one of the factors responsible for absorption of a large section of the population in the tertiary sector.

1.30 Otherwise agriculture in Kerala carries with it all the disquieting features common to Indian agriculture. The pressure of population on land is even severer here. The average size of holdings in Kerala has dwindled down to 1.5 acres

[1] Intensity of cropping is the ratio between gross cropped area and net sown area. It gives the degree to which a given piece of land is utilised.

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against the all-India average of 7.5 acres; and over 60 per cent of the landholdings in Travancore-Cochin area are less than one acre in size.

1.31 The high pressure of population also reveals itself in an urge to push along the margin of cultivable area as far as possible. This is shown by the fact that the proportion of net sown area (45.25 lakh acres) to total area of the State was as high as 47.16 per cent against 39 per cent for the whole of India in 1956. The higher proportion assumes even a greater significance in view of the fact that forests cover over 25 per cent of the total area of Kerala (all-India—18%).

1.32 The agricultural labourers form a very high proportion of the agricultural population (Kerala 39%: India 17.5%), and the extent of under-employment among them is also one of the highest in India. The number of days of employment per agricultural labourer in Kerala was only 170 days per year[1], the lowest in the whole of India.

1.33 A deterioration in the position of the agricultural labourers is shown by the decline in the average annual income of agricultural labour households between 1951 and 1957. As can be seen from the table below, the average annual income of an agricultural labourer's household in Kerala declined from Rs. 486 in 1951 to Rs. 437 in 1956. This is a much steeper decline than observed in the case of the whole of India, presumably due to a higher rate of growth of population in Kerala than in India.

AVERAGE ANNUAL INCOME OF AGRICULTURAL LABOUR HOUSEHOLDS

	Kerala (Rs.)	*India* (Rs.)
1950-51	486	447
1956-57	437	437

SOURCE: *Second Report of the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee.*

Consumption Pattern

1.34 The level of consumption expenditure per head is a good indicator of the standard of living prevailing in any region. Table 5[2] gives a comparative picture of the pattern of consumption expenditure for the rural areas of Travancore-Cochin[2] and India. As may be seen, the average monthly consumption expenditure in Kerala (Rs. 18.64) is lower than that in all-India (Rs. 21.44), indicating a somewhat lower standard of living in the State.

1.35 The break-up of total expenditure into different items of consumption reveals some interesting points. The expenditure on foodgrains, milk and milk products is not only absolutely lower in Kerala but even as a proportion of total expenditure, it is considerably below the all-India average. On the other hand, meat, egg, fish and 'other food' absorb quite a high proportion of consumption expenditure in Kerala. These differences reflect the relative scarcity of foodgrains

[1] *Report of the Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee.*

[2] The data is compared for Travancore-Cochin and India (1952) because figures for Kerala State are not available. However, the conclusions are likely to be broadly true of Kerala also.

3 A [see p 272, category 116 -- Analysis]

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Cashewnut industry, by the very nature of the process involved, does not require much of capital equipment. Although the average size of cashewnut factories is about 400 workers per unit, capital requirements in the industry hardly exceed Rs. 200 per worker. Even the coir and cotton textile factories in Kerala use only the handlooms. Existence of handlooms within the precincts of textile factories is, in fact, a unique phenomenon in Kerala (especially the Malabar region). Only a dozen out of over 300 textile factories use modern equipment. Nowhere else in India can this be seen.

1.46 The contrast between a well-developed primary sector and a backward industrial sector is also brought out by comparative wage statistics for the two sectors. It has already been pointed out that in spite of a high degree of unemployment in the agricultural sector, the wage rates and average household earnings, though low, do not compare very unfavourably with the average for all-India. On the other hand, the average annual earnings of workers in factories covered by the Payment of Wages Act are only Rs. 736 per worker. As may be seen from the table below, this figure is one of the lowest in the whole of India.

AVERAGE ANNUAL EARNINGS OF FACTORY EMPLOYEES, 1956

	Rs.
Andhra	593
Assam	1,526
Bihar	1,236
Bombay	1,415
Madhya Pradesh	982
Madras	950
Orissa	947
Punjab	991
Uttar Pradesh	1,014
West Bengal	1,142
Kerala	736

Source: *Statistical Abstract of India* (1957-58).

Overhead Facilities

1.47 In respect of overhead facilities, Kerala is fortunately better placed than many other parts of India. This has been the result of a progressive policy followed by the Governments of the erstwhile States of Travancore and Cochin, whose rulers took an active interest in the development of various public amenities and tried to attract industrialists from other parts of India to invest in Kerala.

1.48 In the sphere of transport, the coverage of Railways is rather limited, total route mileaghe being only 543 miles. This is, however, more than compensated by the wide network of roadways, which in spite of its many drawbacks, is superior to that in most other parts of India. The extent of road mileage per 100 square miles as well as the vehicle density in Kerala are the highest in the country. Road transport is, in general, more suited to conditions prevailing in Kerala than Railways because of the uneven nature of the terrain.

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the uneven nature of the terrains. Along the coastal strip, inland waterways are the ideal means of transporting lighter commodities.

1.49 It is well known that in standards of literacy Kerala is ahead of all the other States of India. The literate population is 46.2 per cent as compared with 23.7 per cent for the whole of India (1961 Census). Kerala has a very long tradition in imparting education on organized lines. Initiative in the spread of education was first taken by the Christian Missionaries during the middle of the last century. The State followed up by offering grant of aid to the missionary schools, and opening of new Government schools.

1.50 While the State is in the forefront of India in general education, it is hardly so in the sphere of technical education. From the point of view of future industrialization programmes, the emphasis in future will have to undergo a shift in position. During the Second Plan period considerable progress has been made in opening a number of polytechnics and other technical institutions. Their impact, however, will only be felt during the Third Plan period when qualified technicians start coming out from these institutes.

1.51 The State is also fairly high up in the standard of its health services although in some of the indices of health service development it lags behind all-India standards. On the other hand the *ayurvedic* system has had a long established tradition in the State and is popular among the public. Some of the indices showing the relative state of development of medical facilities are given below:

	India (Persons)	*Kerala* (Persons)
One doctor for	7,000	5,200
One nurse for	19,000	16,700
One hospital bed for	1,400	3,125

Regional Disparities

1.52 Although the infra-structure as a whole is well developed in the State, it is not uniformly so all over the State. Economically, Malabar, which was previously a part of the Madras State, is on a distinctly different plane from the Travancore-Cochin area. Unlike the erstwhile States of Travancore and Cochin, Malabar did not receive the benefit of State patronage. At present Malabar is backward compared to Travancore-Cochin in terms of almost all the indicators of economic development. Both the transport and education system are not as well developed in Malabar as in Travancore-Cochin.[1] It lags behind industrially as well. Unemployment also seems to be higher in Malabar. This is corroborated by the much lower participation rate in the case of Malabar.[2] Under these circumstances, economic policy would undoubtedly have to pay due attention to the need for levelling up such wide disparities.

[1] Chapters on "Industries—Structure and Growth" and "Transport". (Nos. 9 and 8)
[2] Chapter on Manpower. (No. 11)

Chapter 2

Agriculture and Plantation Crops

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF AGRICULTURAL SECTOR

A NUMBER OF distinctive features are characteristic of the agricultural sector of Kerala. In the first place, Kerala surpasses all other regions of India in respect of the high pressure of population on land. Secondly, on account of the large number of valuable cash crops, the agricultural sector is more commercialized in the State than elsewhere. Thirdly, food production has always been far short of Kerala's requirements.

2.2 With the fast rising density of population, the margin of cultivation has been constantly receding. The proportion of net sown area to total geographical area is consequently much higher in Kerala (47.16%) than in the rest of India (all-India: 39.1%). The average size of land-holdings, however, is much smaller (1.5 acres) in Kerala (all-India: 7.5 acres). In the Travancore-Cochin area, 66 per cent of the holdings are below one acre in size. (Table 7)[2]

2.3 The scarcity of land in relation to population has been responsible for an acute state of unemployment and under-employment among the people in the rural areas. Unemployment is about three to four times higher in Kerala than in the rest of India. The acute state of unemployment is also accounted for by Kerala's cropping pattern which is comparatively less labour absorbing than in many other parts of India. The perennial crops which take up 47 per cent of the cultivated area need labour recurrently only for maintenance and harvesting[1] although crops like tea and rubber require human labour on a large scale for picking of the green leaves and tapping of rubber. The perennial crops require very little labour for basic operations such as preparation of seed bed, sowing, etc., except once in their life time.

2.4 However, the fact that the cropping pattern of Kerala is not labour-intensive is compensated to some extent by the higher value yield of the perennial crops per cultivated acre. The soil structure and climatic conditions in Kerala favour a high value yielding cropping pattern. On an average, cash crops contribute Rs. 100 crores (65%) to the income from agriculture (Rs. 151 crores). Of the cash crops, coconuts occupy 20.2 per cent of gross cropped area, standing next only to paddy which occupies 35.8 per cent of the gross cropped area. But the value yielded per acre for coconuts (Rs. 446) is more than twice that for paddy (Rs. 212). The position regarding the other crops is given in Table 9.[3]

2.5 In respect of plantation crops the only other State which approaches closest to Kerala is Assam where the proportion of cultivable area devoted to plantation

[1] This aspect is discussed in greater detail in the Chapter on Manpower No. 11.

[2] [see p. 273, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

[3] [see p. 275, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AW11 Kerala AW11

EXTENSION OF CULTIVABLE AREA

Cotton

*433 248 2.25 Prior to 1956, Kerala was considered unsuitable for the cultivation of cotton. In that year an experiment was made on a pilot scale and the results were so encouraging that the area under Sea Island (long staple) cotton rose from 126 acres in 1956 to about 3,500 acres in 1959-60.

2.26 Sea Island cotton yields superior lint which can be spun into high count expensive yarn. The latter finds a good market within the country and at present has even got to be imported. The extension of area under this crop will help in saving valuable foreign exchange and it would also provide scope for development of such industries as ginning, baling, spinning and cotton seed oil extraction.

2.27 In view of the above factors it is desirable to undertake further extension of area under cotton. A part of this increase can take place at the expense of acreage under tapioca, which is a low yielding crop. About 0.2 to 0.3 million acres out of 0.56 million acres under tapioca can be diverted in this way during the next decade. Efforts should, however, be made to keep the output of tapioca at the existing level by raising its yield which is at a very low level. [244]

2.28 There is also scope for diverting some highland area under single cropped paddy to Sea Island cotton since such a diversion would yield high returns in terms of value. The exact scope for such a diversion can, however, be ascertained only after the proposed land-use survey has been conducted. [243]

2.29 Assuming 0.3 million acres are brought under Sea Island cotton, as suggested above, additional production of long staple cotton may be expected to reach a level of 192,000 bales by 1970-71.

Sugarcane

*433 249 2.30 Sugarcane is a high value crop, and, therefore, is quite popular with the farmers. But it is one of those crops whose future extension of area is very much dependent upon the growth of sugar manufacturing industry. Its exact scope will, therefore, depend upon the growth of sugar factories.

[171] 2.31 The yield per acre of sugarcane in Kerala is very good (Kerala 40,000 lbs. per acre ; U.P. and Bihar 25,000 lbs. per acre ; all-India 28,000 lbs. per acre) and can be raised to 55,000 lbs. per acre. This factor favours the extension of sugarcane cultivation and the setting up of new sugar mills. At present there are about 25,000 acres under this crop in Thiruvella area, mostly concentrated around the Pampa river sugarcane factory. There is scope for a large increase in sugarcane acreage in the districts of Palghat, Trivandrum and Ernakulam which possess the requisite irrigation facilities. By 1971, the area under sugarcane may be doubled to about 50,000 acres.

Ginger

2.32 Ginger is a very high value yielding crop (Rs. 1,077 per acre). In view of good demand prospects for ginger in both internal and external markets, the production of

Tea

2.94 Tea is foremost among the exports of Kerala and the second most important cash crop of the State in terms of net value contributed. It also employs the largest number of persons among the plantation crops. In 1957-58, out of the total exports worth Rs. 56 crores from the ports of Kerala, tea alone accounted for Rs. 24.3 crores.

2.95 The growth of tea plant is very much influenced by natural factors such as temperature and rainfall. A warm and moist climate with a temperature range of 55°-95°F, and an aggregate of 100 to 250 inches of well distributed rainfall are ideal conditions for the growth of tea bushes. It is grown at altitudes of over 2,000 feet above sea level and requires a well drained soil for anchorage and share of trees. The Wynad range (3,000 ft. elevation) of Malabar and Kannan Devan Hills (5,000 ft. elevation) of Travancore-Cochin area possess all these attributes.

2.96 Between 1951 and 1958 the area under tea in the State increased from 93,000 to 97,000 acres, that is, by 5.4 per cent. On the output side, the production of tea in the State during 1958 was 80.0 million lbs. as against 66.4 million lbs. in 1951, registering an increase of 35 per cent. The increase in production has thus been largely due to increase in yields between 1951 and 1958. By 1958 the yield rate reached a record level of 957 lbs. per acre. This increase has been steady and is higher than the corresponding all-India rise. However, even at present the average yield per acre in Kerala is lower than that in the case of other principal tea growing States of India such as Assam, West Bengal and Madras.

2.97 Higher prices and increased demand after the last world war gave an inducement to the planters to adopt intensive techniques of cultivation such as application of large dosage of fertilizers, better management and care. These have been primarily responsible for a larger outturn per acre. However, this trend is not likely to continue indefinitely as the bushes are getting aged. Experienced planters feel that with further improvements in cultivation techniques and increased application of fertilizer mixtures, it would be possible to raise the average yield to 1,000 lbs. per acre.

2.98 *Replantation*: The economic life of a tea bush ranges from 40 to 60 years and this makes it necessary to have a planned programme of replantation. Nearly half of the tea acreage in South India was planted during the early part of the century using Assam seeds. The remainder is the old China hybrid. Till 1953 only 0.72 per cent of the tea area had been replanted.

2.99 Replanting of tea had been neglected till recently. Most of the plantation estates were distributing the major part of their profits and there was very little ploughing back. The need for replanting on an appreciable scale received recognition only about 10 years ago but the situation has not improved still. Since no profits had been ploughed back to build up reserves, absence of replantation is largely explained by the lack of financial resources with the planters. Government aid in the form of long term loans for plantation, therefore, seems to be the only solution. The Plantation Enquiry Committee examined this problem in detail and recommended the creation of a fund for replantation. No action seems to have been taken so far.

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll

433 249 acres to 270,625 acres. This is a proof of the growing popularity of rubber cultivation in Kerala. Increase has also been registered in the tapped area. During 1951–56, the tapped area increased by about 50 per cent (99,120 to 150,000 acres), though the acreage under rubber increased only by 25 per cent. A higher rate of increase in case of tapped area has been caused by maturing of trees planted before 1951.

433 249 423 2.106 *Distribution of Holdings*: The increase in the number of holdings since 1951 has been much more than the increase in acreage under rubber. There were 50,000 estates in 1958 as against 9,026 in 1951. The increase was roughly 500 per cent as against an increase in the area by about 100 per cent only. The consequence is that today rubber industry in Kerala is marked by the existence of a large number of small-size family estates. The increase in area under small estates is not a healthy trend, as these are uneconomic and have low productivity.

433 249 2.107 *Production and Yields*: During 1958, the total production of rubber in Kerala was 22,200 tons. The production has been steadily rising at a rate of 8.2 per cent per annum which is indeed a very high rate when compared with growth in the gross agricultural production. (Table 13)

[171] 2.108 In 1958 the yield per acre of rubber in Kerala was 294 lbs. which is very low when compared to the yields in Malaya, Ceylon, Indonesia and other rubber growing countries. Compared to 1958, the yield in 1951 was slightly higher standing at 312 lbs. per acre. The decline in yield was partly due to the transfer of Kanyakumari district, which was a high yielding region, to Madras after the reorganization of the States. Partly it was also due to large scale new planting in all the districts except Trichur.

2.109 A significant fact about land productivity is the wide difference in yield rates between big and small estates. In 1958, the average yield of holdings of below 100 acres was only 162 lbs. per acre while in larger holdings it was 486 lbs.

433 249 242 [471] [244] 2.110 Low productivity in smaller gardens is due to the inefficient and unscientific manner in which the estates are managed and lack of resources at the disposal of these estate owners. Scientific and efficient management of rubber gardens requires manuring of gardens, periodic renewal of fences, clearance of under-growth, control of soil erosion, etc. For carrying out these operations, it is necessary to have a large fund of working capital which the small growers do not possess. Small growers, particularly those with 10 acres and less, have very little sustaining power and cannot wait for the trees to attain maturity. Consequently, premature tappings and slaughter tappings are too common among the small estates. The small holders are also tempted to grow an understorey when the plants are young and for that they generally prefer tapioca as it is a food crop with high yields. Under cropping even when properly manured, is not good for the soil but when it is considered along with inadequate manuring, the harm can well be imagined. This type of mismanagement generally does not occur in large plantations. It is high time that something is done to improve the situation. Measures such as amalgamating small units into an economic size and working them on a cooperative basis would perhaps meet the needs. The matter should be further investigated and followed up by suitable action.

2.111 The low yield per acre is also due to the cultivation of low yielding varieties and over-ageing of trees. The Rubber Board reported that at the end of 1955, 80

7 [see p. 278, category 116 -- Analysis]

to a considerable degree in Malabar and Nelliampathi (Travancore-Cochin) areas. The major concentration of area occurs in the Kozhikode district of Malabar. It had 89 per cent of the total coffee area in the State during 1957-58. Between 1955 and 1958, coffee production in Malabar rose (18%) while that in Travancore-Cochin declined (16%). Similarly, the area under coffee during the same period registered an increase in Malabar (28.3%) but declined in Travancore-Cochin region (15.0%).

2.134 The average yield per acre of coffee in Kerala is rather low. It has been lower than the all-India average and is far below the average yield in Mysore, the principal coffee growing State in India, (1955-56 Kerala, 285 lbs. per acre; all-India, 369 lbs. per acre; and Mysore 395 lbs. per acre). Moreover, while the yields elsewhere in India, especially in Mysore, have been rising, in Kerala they have fallen from 368 to 285 lbs. per acre during 1951–58. Within Kerala, the yields are the highest in Kozhikode district which is largely due to the better management of estates in this district.

2.135 One of the characteristics of coffee plantations in Kerala is the overwhelmingly large number of small estates. In 1958, there were 14,475 registered estates with a total area of 47,675 acres. Of these, 12,412 were of less than five acres in size. There were only 99 estates out of 14,475 with an area over 50 acres. (Table 14)[2]

2.136 There is a distinct relationship between the size of coffee estates and the output per acre. It is noticed that yields increase progressively as the size of the estates increases. The yield per acre of *Arabica* variety in estates in the size group of 5-10 acres was 0.68 cwts. per acre, while for the estates with 200 acres or more, it was 2.26 cwts. Moreover, the quality of coffee produced on small plantations is also inferior and fetches only 65 per cent of the price of coffee produced on big estates. It is difficult to ascertain the most economic size but it is believed that for effective and profitable functioning, the minimum size would be 50 acres. If this is accepted, then only less than one per cent of coffee estates in Kerala are economic. The question of making these plantations economic through consolidation or extension of area under coffee plantations should, therefore, receive serious attention. Two more points need attention. First, new areas should be planted with coffee *Arabica* rather than coffee *Robusta* since the former gives higher yields. Secondly, as in the case of tea, replantation is also over-due in the coffee plantations. Remedies on the same lines as suggested for tea hold good for coffee also.

2.137 Unlike tea, the major portion of which is exported, coffee plantations are substained largely by the demand for internal consumption. Internal demand, however, has not been keeping pace with rise in the output of coffee. At present India has quite a large surplus in coffee and efforts are being made to export the surplus. In spite of an enormous surplus of coffee in South America, efforts in India have yielded good results as shown by an increase in exports from 3,000 tons in 1952-53 to 15,228 tons in 1956-57.[1] Most of our exports go to East European countries. There is scope for stepping up the exports further, in spite of the world

[1] Source: Coffee Board, Bangalore.

[2] [see p. 279, category 11b -- Analysis]

Chapter 3

Animal Husbandry

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY IN Kerala is poorly developed. It stands in sharp contrast to the well-developed agricultural sector. With the exception of poultry, low livestock productivity marks all aspects of animal husbandry. The milk yield in the State is among the lowest in the country. The total production of milk in Kerala in 1956 has been estimated at 1.82 lakh tons,[1] which works out to a per capita production of 1.3 ozs. as against the minimum of 10 ozs. per capita recommended by the Nutritional Advisory Committee of the Indian Council of Medical Research. This is also true of yield of meat from sheep and goat. Consequently, the contribution of animal husbandry to the State income is comparatively low. During 1957-58 the net contribution of livestock to State income was Rs. 12.2 crores, that is, only 3.3 per cent of the State income while for all-India it was about 8 per cent.

Livestock Population

3.2 According to the 1956 Census of livestock, Kerala had a total livestock population of 4,168,000. This consisted of 2,510,000 cattle; 4,88,000 buffaloes; 97,820 sheep; 113,711 pigs; 956,000 goats, fowls and ducks. The number of cows and she-buffaloes in milk per thousand of human population was very low at 30, while the same was as high as 148 in Madhya Pradesh, 123 in Punjab, 150 in Rajasthan (all-India 80). Other major heads of livestock in the same year were sheep (97,820) and pigs (113,711).

3.3 In 1956 there were 838,000 working cattle in the State (Table 20). The significant fact about this is the high proportion of buffaloes to the total working cattle. The buffaloes constituted about one-third of the draught animals. The corresponding all-India proportion in the same year was only 9 per cent. Buffaloes are popular in Kerala as draught animals, because of their superior draught capacity and greater suitability for the puddled type of cultivation. This has an important bearing on the formulation of the future breeding policy.

3.4 Between the Census of 1951 and 1956 the livestock population rose by over 17 per cent in the State as against only 4.8 per cent for the entire country. There has been an all round increase under all the major heads except pigs (—3.6%) and sheep (—77%). A large increase in the livestock and poultry population may be partly due to a higher level of reporting in the Census of 1956 over the previous Census.

[1] *Indian Livestock Statistics*, 1953-54 to 1955-56, Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India.

Chapter 5

Fisheries

KERALA IS THE leading fish producing State in India. Its present production of fish amounts to about 310,000 tons. Maharashtra comes next with an output of 210,000 tons. Over 80 per cent (260,000 tons) of the fish landings are obtained from the sea and the rest from inland sources. About 75,000 tons of fish (70,000 tons cured and 5,000 tons fresh) are at present annually exported to other parts of the country, and 2,000 tons (frozen and canned) are sent abroad. Allowing for a very negligible import, the net quantity available for local use comes to 235,000 tons per annum.

5.2 Fish eating is popular in this State. About four-fifths of the population are accustomed to taking fish regularly. At present the per capita consumption of fish in the State is 41.30 lbs. per year for the fish eating population and 33.00 lbs. per year for the total population, as against 9.50 lbs. and 6.10 lbs. respectively for India as a whole.

5.3 About 85,000 persons (1.60 % of total labour force) are directly engaged in fishing activities and they produce a net output of Rs. 5.60 crores (1.60 % of State income). The standard of living of an average fisherman in Kerala is very depressed. The average annual income of a fisherman's household in Kerala, consisting of 6.40 members, is estimated at Rs. 542, or only Rs. 85 per fisherman, that is, about one-third of the average per capita income in the State.

PRESENT STATUS OF FISHERIES

Marine Fisheries

5.4 *Coastal Fisheries*: Although Kerala has a comparatively short coastline (10% of all-India) Kerala ranks first in the production of marine fish (about 30% of all-India Production—Table 25). Large marine fish catch can probably be attributed to the much more intensive fishing effort made in Kerala. In 1957, the ratio of man-hours per mile of coastline came to about five times the average for other States. This heavy fishing pressure is paralleled by the high pressure of population on land, leading to an intensive use of the natural resources. Intensive fishing is not only confined to the number of hours of fishing put in, but it also includes the use of more efficient methods. It will be seen from Table 26 that the catch per man-hour of fishing in Kerala compares favourably with that in the other States.

[Tables 25 & 26 appearing on p. 288, have not been processed -- Ana.]

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll

the fishing industry, owns a boat-building yard, a workshop, a cold storage and refrigeration plant and runs a training centre. The fishing villages are thus being developed into what may be called Integrated Fishing Centres.

5.11 *Off-shore Fishing*: An attempt to introduce exploratory and commercial off-shore fishing operations from Cochin port was made by the Travancore-Cochin Government as early as in 1940. A Government sponsored private company operated three large-sized (65 feet to 90 feet) vessels for a time. But these operations proved abortive and were given up owing to lack of trained crew and absence of docking and repairing facilities. Thorough exploratory investigations have been on for the last few years, and at present deep-sea fishing is being carried on jointly by the Government of India and the Indo-Norwegian Project.

5.12 *Chank Fisheries*: With the transfer of some areas of Travancore-Cochin to Madras at the time of the reorganization of States, Kerala has lost some of its important chank fishing centres along the Kanyakumari coast, and only a few centres of lesser importance, Thekkay Kollencode, Poovar, Pulinkudi, Poonthura, Shankumugham and Veri are now left with the State. The right of collection of chanks is annually auctioned on royalty basis, preference being given to cooperatives. The number of chanks collected and the money realized by the cooperatives in 1957-58 and 1958-59 were 26,629 chanks (for Rs. 16,361) and 18,355 chanks (for Rs. 9,177.50) respectively.

Inland Fisheries

5.13 Estuaries, backwaters and adjacent low-lying fields, rivers and canals, ponds, tanks and reservoirs comprise the inland fisheries of Kerala. According to the State Fisheries Department, the total production from these sources is at present about 50,000 tons per annum. This represents only 20 per cent of the total fish production in the State. The inland fish production of Kerala, though much lower than that of West Bengal (12,000 tons), compares favourably with that of Madras (40,000 tons).

Estuaries and Backwater Fisheries

5.14 The more important rivers opening directly into the sea and having permanent link with it are the Periyar, Bharatpuzha, Beypore, Billiapatam and Korapuzha. Regular fishing in the estuaries is done only during the south-west monsoon period (end of May to beginning of August) when fishing activities in the sea, owing to rough weather, are almost at a standstill. The estuarine catches include such varieties as Mullets, Milk Fish, Prawns of different types and Horse Mackerel.

5.15 The backwaters of Kerala covering approximately an area of about 300 square miles, are the most important source of inland fish production. The main areas are Ashtamudy, the Kayamkulam and the Vembanad, all situated in the Southern part of the State. The production from estuaries and backwaters is estimated by the State Fisheries Department at about 46,000 tons per annum. Prawns constitute the bulk of the catch which comprises, in addition to Prawns, Mullets, Bekti, Horse Mackerel and Engraulis.

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWII Kerala AWII

embark and disembark every month at the two airports of the State in Trivandrum and Cochin.

8.3 The State's transport system has to meet not only the requirements of the internal movement of traffic and the needs of inter-State and overseas trade and commerce of the State, but also the traffic connected with the import and export trade of adjoining areas in the neighbouring States. Calicut and Cochin provide suitable inlets and outlets for the intake of oil fuels, cotton, hardware and machinery, fertilizers and foodgrains, and for exports of tea, coffee, etc.

The Transport System

8.4 The transport system of the State consists of:

A. Sections of the Southern Railway, 543 miles long; (broad gauge 331 miles; metre gauge 204 miles; mixed gauge 8 miles), serving port-towns such as Cochin, Quilon and Calicut, and other important industrial centres.

B. A road network made up of national and provincial highways (1,432 miles) and district and village roads (9,307 miles).

C. A unique inland waterway system of navigable rivers and coastal and cross canals, 1,178 miles long.

D. Thirteen ports, including a major port at Cochin, and two active minor ports at Calicut and Alleppey.

E. One hundred and eleven statute miles of airways, with airports at Trivandrum and Cochin.

8.5 Nearly 145,000 persons,[1] constituting 2.93 per cent of the working force of the State are engaged in transportation and account for an annual income of Rs. 8.697 crores.

8.6 The features of this system, particularly in relation to the physical and financial (investment) demands that the growth of the State's economy may make on it in the coming decade (1961–71) are highlighted here for each medium of transport.

THE RAILWAYS

8.7 In relation to the extent of area served (14,992 sq. miles), the railway mileage per 100 square miles of State territory (3.6 miles) compares favourably with all-India (2.7 miles) and Mysore (2.2 miles); Madras State is better served with 4.4 miles per 100 square miles. The railway mileage per 100,000 of population in the State is however, only 3.4 miles, slightly less than a third of what it is for all-India, viz., 9.5 miles. The corresponding figures for the adjoining States of Mysore and Madras are higher being 6.2 and 5.6 miles respectively. The comparatively lower average

[Text continues on p. 127]

[1] 1951 Census figures.

11: India G-4,5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll

of traffic on arterial routes (e.g., Coimbatore-Cochin). The opening of Aroor Bridge has failed to attract the high potential of traffic expected between Quilon and Ernakulam, as there are weak bridges at least at three points on the route. As a result of lack of bridges, inter-State traffic between Kasargod and Mangalore has to seek a diversion *via* South Coorg. Apart from this, the need for bypasses, which is felt today in and near Calicut, is likely to become an urgent necessity around every focal point of increased industrial growth, such as Ernakulam, Quilon, Alwaye, Palghat, Trichur, etc.

8.16 Special mention may be made of two vital routes:

(*i*) *Cochin-Coimbatore Road* (*N.H. No. 47*). This road has already become fully saturated with traffic passing between the port of Cochin and the Coimbatore area. The opening of the Mangalapuzha bridge over the Alwaye river has contributed to this saturation to a great extent. Future industrial development and increased traffic at the Cochin port would require the reservation of this road (N.H. No. 47) for fast moving traffic with an additional lane. Infact, even to cater to the present needs, such an arrangement is necessary. Slow moving traffic will have to be diverted to an alternative route from Trichur to Coimbatore *via* Kollengode and Palghat.

(*ii*) *Aroor Bridge—Ernakulam Road.* This length of 9½ miles of the National Highway is tortuous and incapable of being widened. If it is to cope up with the expanding activities of Cochin area, it will have to be realigned, even before the ship-building yard is located in Cochin. The best plan would be to reclaim land along the coast from Aroor bridge to the site where a bridge is proposed to be constructed near the Thevara College at Ernakulam approximately a distance of four miles, and divert the road on to this reclaimed land; the reclamation will have not only to provide for a road of about 70 ft. width, but could also be used to build a chain of warehouses which are very much in demand. A water frontage to handle the water-borne traffic on this entire four-mile route will also have to be constructed.

ROAD TRANSPORT

8.17 The number of mechanized road vehicles in the State—trucks, buses, taxies, private cars, auto-rickshaws, etc.,—has increased sharply from 9,395 in 1956-57 to 23,087 in 1959-60. The number of goods vehicles rose from 2,714 to 5,218, i.e., by 92.2 per cent. But their proportionate share declined, 28.9 per cent of the total number of vehicles, to 22.6 per cent. During the same period, the number of buses increased from 452 to 3,236, that is by over 600 per cent. The percentage to the total number of road vehicles in their case increased from 4.8 per cent to 14 per cent. Passenger transport has thus recorded a striking increase.

8.18 The State has a vehicle density of 2.14 per mile of road, 1.54 per sq. mile of area, and 146.6 per 100,000 of population. The comparative figures for all-India and an industrially advanced State like West Bengal are as follows.

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll

VEHICLE DENSITY

	Per mile of road	Per sq. mile	Per 100,000 Population
Kerala	2.14	1.34	146.6
West Bengal	1.20	0.92	111.1
India	1.20	0.32	104.0

Kerala comes up with the highest indices, but this is not surprising as the railway serves only certain limited areas and road transport has to serve the other areas.

8.19 Trivandrum and Calicut districts have the largest concentration of goods vehicles on the road; Alleppey, Ernakulam, and Quilon figure next. As regards the stage carriages, Trivandrum district has the largest fleet; Trichur, Ernakulam, and Calicut districts also account for large numbers of stage carriages but these are much smaller. The Coimbatore-Cochin route is saturated with goods traffic in cotton bales, fertilizers, planks, tea, tapioca, machinery, hardware, etc., particularly since the opening of the Mangalapuzha bridge replacing the Desom ferry. The traffic was expected to go up by about 50 per cent during 1961. Similarly the traffic between Calicut and Coimbatore, across the Palghat gap and between Calicut and Wynad (timber traffic) bound for destinations in Salem, Madras, Mysore, Tuticorin, etc., has been on the increase. As industrial developments presage considerable increase of traffic on these routes, problems of alignment, bridging, extra lanes, expressway sections, etc., may call for more investment and additional construction.

8.20 About 250 trucks are operating between Mysore and Kerala on inter-State routes. They are subject to the restriction that they may not operate on more than three important straight routes, not exceeding 300 miles in each State. Inter-State routing arrangements between Madras and Kerala are yet to be completed.

8.21 The business in goods transport in the State suffers from the preponderance of owner-operators of single trucks (1,717 operators). There are only five operators in the State who own more than 10 trucks. The predominance of the owner-operator of single trucks is likely to prevent the industry from obtaining the economies and advantages of enhanced efficiency resulting from better organization of road transport in the State.

8.22 Among other features of the transport system special mention may be made of chronic over-loading of vehicles and the beginning of movement in truck-trailer combinations in order to circumvent difficulties arising from restrictions of weight over weak bridges and culverts. Study and analysis of road transport problems are rendered more difficult by the paucity of data regarding traffic, the absence of regular departmental road census of vehicles and traffic, etc. A limited degree of nationalization of goods transport by road has been introduced on the Cochin-Mannar route where 10 to 18 trucks carry tea from the estates to Cochin, and rice, manures and machinery from Cochin to the estates.

8.23 Despite an early start, the nationalized road passenger services have not made much headway. About 458 vehicles are on the road, covering 24.9 million miles annually, and carrying about 65.3 million passengers. The larger revenues resulting from increased traffic and higher fares,[1] have not improved the net profits of

[1] The revenues rose by Rs. 31 lakhs.

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll

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TABLE 2

DENSITY OF POPULATION IN KERALA

District	*Population*	*Density per sq. mile*
Trivandrum	1,738,085	2,052
Quilon	1,929,845	994
Alleppey	1,809,530	2,345
Kottayam	1,730,436	745
Ernakulam	1,858,440	1,468
Trichur	1,634,231	1,422
Palghat	1,775,477	806
Kozhikode	2,619,285	1,283
Cannanore	1,779,852	649
KERALA	*16,876,109*	*1,188*

SOURCE: 1961 Census Provisional Population figures.

TABLE 3

ESTIMATE OF STATE INCOME OF KERALA (1955-56)
(At current prices)

434
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	Kerala		*India*	
	Rs. crores	*Per cent*	*Rs. crores*	*Per cent*
A. Primary Incomes	*172.6*	*49.1*	*4,520.0*	*45.6*
1. Agriculture	151.3	43.1	4,300.0	44.9
2. Animal Husbandry	10.7	3.0		
3. Forestry	5.0	1.4	70.0	0.5
4. Fisheries	5.5	1.6	60.0	
B. Secondary Incomes	*68.3*	*14.6*	*1,150.0*	*18.8*
1. Factory enterprises	18.0	4.8	780.0	7.8
2. Non-factory enterprises	32.3	9.6	970.0	9.7
3. Mining	2.0	0.6	100.0	1.0
C. Tertiary Incomes	*106.8*	*30.3*	*3,810.0*	*38.8*
1. Communications	3.5			
2. Railways	35.9			
3. Other Transport and Commerce	3.5			
4. Organized Banks and Insurance	31.3			
5. Professions, Arts and Domestic Services	14.6			
6. Public Authorities	18.0			
7. House Property				
TOTAL	*351.8*	*100*	*9,980*	*100*
Population (millions)	15.01		383.0	
Per Capita Income	234.4		261.0	

[Pp. 216–269 have not been processed]

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWII Kerala AWII

TABLE 4

SECTORAL EMPLOYMENT AND LABOUR PRODUCTIVITY IN KERALA (1955-56)

	Working force			*Net value added per worker (Rs.)*	
	Kerala		*India*	*Kerala*	*India*
	Lakhs[a]	*Per cent*	*Per cent*		
1. Primary Sector	27.6	54.9	71.8	625	411
2. Secondary Sector	9.7 (100%)	19.3	9.4	539	1,294
(a) Factory Enterprises	1.7 (17.5%)	..	..	1,059	2,500
(b) Non-factory Enterprises	7.8 (80.4%)	..	..	413	915
(c) Mining	0.2 (2.1%)	..	..	..	..
3. Tertiary Sector	13.0	25.8	18.8	975.4	1,249
TOTAL	*50.3*	*100.00*	*100.00*	*700.00*	*631.00*

[a] Recently, the Statistics Department of the Government of Kerala conducted an Integrated Sample Survey. According to this, estimate of total employment in Kerala during 1957-58 was 46.3 lakhs. The difference between these estimates and the one given above are obviously due to difference in the concepts used. The concepts used here are based on classification adopted in the 1951 Census. For the purpose of this report figures based on the Census data are being used. Since Techno-Economic Surveys of other States have also used Census data for calculation of working force, the uniformity provided by this data possesses the advantage that it allows inter-State comparisons. The alternative estimates of employment structure in Kerala, as revealed by the Integrated Sample Survey are given below:

	(In lakhs)
1. Primary Sector	*24.5*
2. Secondary Sector	*9.4*
(a) Mining	0.5
(b) Factory	1.5
(c) Non-factory	7.4
3. Tertiary Sector	*12.4*
TOTAL	*46.3*

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWll Kerala AWll

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369
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TABLE 5

CONSUMER EXPENDITURE IN RUPEES PER PERSON BY ITEMS OF CONSUMPTION FOR PERIOD OF 30 DAYS IN RURAL AREAS

Items	Travancore-Cochin		All-India	
	Expenditure level (Rs.)	Percentage	Expenditure level (Rs.)	Percentage
Foodgrains	6.10	32.7	8.70	40.6
Milk and milk products	0.49	2.3	1.35	6.3
Edible oil	0.57	3.1	0.45	2.1
Meat, egg and fish	0.78	4.2	0.42	2.0
Sugar	0.40	2.2	0.45	2.1
Salt	0.06	0.3	0.06	0.3
Other food	2.83	15.2	2.11	9.8
FOOD (SUB-TOTAL)	*11.17*	*60.0*	*13.54*	*63.2*
Clothing	1.13	9.8	1.66	7.7
Fuel and light	1.13	5.9	1.16	5.4
Rent	0.08	2.8	0.30	1.4
Taxes	0.06	0.2	0.07	0.3
Miscellaneous	5.07	15.4	4.71	22.0
NON-FOOD (SUB-TOTAL)	*7.47*	*34.0*	*7.90*	*36.8*
TOTAL	18.64	100.0	21.44	100.0

Source: *The National Sample Survey*, Fourth Round, April-September 1952, Number 13.

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AWII Kerala AWII

TABLE 58

DENSITY OF POPULATION (KERALA STATE)
(Figures based on 1951 Census)

District		Participation rate (Per cent)	Density of population	
Trivandrum	Travancore-Cochin	36.2	1,569	
Quilon			749	
Alleppey			2,148	
Kottayam			664	
Ernakulam			982	
Trichur			1,188	
Palghat		28.5	793	785
Kozhikode			809	
Cannanore			618	
STATE TOTAL			904	

Palghat, Kozhikode and Cannanore formed the previous districts of Malabar.

TABLE 59

OCCUPATIONAL BREAK-UP OF WORKING FORCE (1961)

	KERALA						INDIA					
	Rural		Urban		Combined		Rural		Urban		Combined	
	Lakhs	Percentage	Lakhs	Percentage	Lakhs	Percentage	Lakhs	Percentage	Lakhs	Percentage	Lakhs	Percentage
Agricultural Sector	22.3	60.3	1.1	18.9	23.4	51.4	990	81.8	30	18.9	1,020	71.8
Non-agricultural Sector	17.3	39.8	4.7	81.1	22.0	48.6	218	18.2	184	81.1	402	28.2
TOTAL	39.6	100.0	5.8	100.0	45.4	100.0	1,208	100.0	214	100.0	1,422	100.0

[Pp. 286–309 not Processed]

13:Thurston & Rangachari E-4, 5 (no date) 1909
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Nayar

early in the morning to gather flowers, of which the kadali is the most important. On their return, they sit in front of the tulasi (sacred basil) mandapam, make a carpet-like bed of the blossoms which they have collected, and place a clay image of Ganapati in the centre. A writer in the Calcutta Review * describes how having set out at dawn to gather blossoms, the children return with their beautiful spoils by 9 or 10 A.M., and then the daily decoration begins. The chief decoration consists of a carpet made out of the gathered blossoms, the smaller ones being used in their entirety, while the large flowers, and one or two varieties of foliage of different tints, are pinched up into little pieces to serve the decorator's purpose. This flower carpet is invariably made in the centre of the clean strip of yard in front of the neat house. Often it is a beautiful work of art, accomplished with a delicate touch and a highly artistic sense of tone and blending. The carpet completed, a miniature pandal (booth), hung with little festoons, is erected over it, and at all hours of the day neighbours look in, to admire and criticise the beautiful handiwork."

"Various field sports, of which foot-ball is the chief, are indulged in during the Onam festival. To quote Paulinus once more, the men, particularly those who are young, form themselves into parties, and shoot at each other with arrows. These arrows are blunted, but exceedingly strong, and are discharged with such force that a considerable number are generally wounded on both sides. These games have a great likeness to the Ceralia and Juvenalia of the ancient Greeks and Romans."

* January, 1899.

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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complex, contradictory, and difficult material collected by many authors, and, second, to test the Ceylon model of the association of hypergamy with unilineal descent. It will be recalled that Gough's Kumbapettai village seemed to include the variations in kinship found dispersed over a large area in Ceylon. On the Malabar coast, the situation is, if possible, made even more complicated: in this famous region we find every possible variation of our model, from matrilineal hypergamous systems to endogamous and patrilineal hypergamous systems, all existing pell-mell in the same area. In general, it seems clear that these various features are used as structural indices to distinguish communities from one another. The over-all pattern, by contrast, seems uncluttered: in lower levels of social rank we find, on the whole, endogamous castes which so far as the material goes exhibit the fundamental characteristics of the general structure. In the higher levels of Hindu and Muslim society we find an intense preoccupation with status and social rank, and unilineal descent systems are built out of the general structure. Then, in the limiting cases, each matrilineage behaves as if it were a single unique caste having only hypergamous connections with the outside world.

In this section, I shall first attempt to establish the existence of the general structure in castes in both North and South Malabar, and I shall then go on to examine the questions of descent and hypergamy. Before we come to specific cases, I should observe that the region exhibits an impressive general cultural uniformity: the language, Malayalam, is very closely related to Tamil; the details of the customs find immediate echoes not only in the material from the rest of South India but among Buddhists in Ceylon as well. Quite apart from structural matters, there is an intuitive appreciation of the fact that we are in a civilization with a distinctive style of its own in which the different customs of discrete groups appear as permutations and combinations of the same set of general ideas.

The term Nayar covers a motley collection of categories of people. Primarily, they are aristocratic Nayar descended from the important royal houses of Cochin and Travancore. There are also people of servant castes who have allegedly taken on the Nayar title in the last century and are only Nayar by courtesy. Some of these categories may be fully endogamous and others, at the higher levels, hypergamous. Though there are again uniformities, it is important to specify which group of Nayar are being considered. The word *taravad*, used by various castes in Malabar, denotes a group of matrilineally related persons with the same name who observe rules of exogamy. The *taravad* may be split into smaller property-holding groups, each with a head *Karanavan*.[7]

[7] "One who 'acts' ": comp. *Karanava*, "to do" in Sinhalese.

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
Kerala AW11

NORTH NAYAR

Anthropological investigations in Malabar have usually gone straight to the most spectacular cases: the matrilineal Nayar *taravad* of Cochin and Travancore. This tendency, though understandable, is hardly justified, since the matrilineal *taravad* achieves its greatest elaboration among the aristocratic ranks of the ruling families and can hardly be accepted as a typical feature of the landscape.

It should be clear that today there is great variation in practice among the Nayar groups in Malabar, not only from the aristocrats to the low-caste menials (who like to call themselves Nayar) but also within the same Nayar "subcastes." In an illuminating passage, Karve (1953), for example, notes how many individual Nayar feel that they should lay the foundations for a new *taravad* in their sister's name as soon as they can afford to do so, for a named matrilineal *taravad* is clearly an important aspect of status for Nayar men. Gough (1952*a*) has used a historical model to deal with the variations. She argues, in effect, that the past was orderly and the present is confused. Theory and practice were harmonious in the past but are now breaking down. The tempo of new developments, political, economic, social, can hardly be denied, but we can suggest that the past idealized by Gough may well have been as diverse (in terms of the structure of matrilineal *taravad*) as the present. It is likely that there always were nascent, medium-sized, and fully developed *taravad* based on the same principles.

We shall examine the aristocratic Nayar lineages in a moment. In North Malabar, the *taravad* is significantly different from the region around the Cochin kingdoms. In the North, there was apparently less political centralization and a relatively limited development of subcategories of Nayar castes with special duties. Most of the Nayar were called Nambiar and were small landowners who lived in villages. They recognized dispersed matrilineal clans, and the property group in the locality was regarded as a segment of such a clan.

At marriage the girl moved to the household of her husband, but she returned temporarily to her natal household to bear her children (a custom still followed among the Sinhalese). The children when grown went to their MB; the males stayed with the MB as members of matri-lines and the females were married off from that house.

Here, clearly, are the complex claims on the sister and her children. I need hardly point out that all aspects of the general structure are to be seen in their organization. First, the usual Dravidian terminology was used for reference (Schneider and Gough, 1961, p. 404). A clear distinction was made between the categories for reference and the

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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terms of address. Related to this Dravidian terminology we find, as might be expected, that all parallel cousins on both sides are forbidden as sexual partners and consequently there is categorical cross-cousin marriage (p. 397). We are not given any details regarding the circle of kin which we have called the micro-caste, for Gough is again more concerned with "lineages." However, it is quite clear that all the kinship customs, especially the obligations between the various categories of kin, appear very similar to the Sinhalese.

The categories of the terminology are widely extended and relations with paternal kin are formally defined. The son, for instance, must make annual offerings to his dead father's spirit. "Paternal kin are known and accorded kinship terms within a range of three to five generations" (Gough, 1955*a*, p. 55). The father's sister's son was considered to have special claims on the girl (Schneider and Gough, 1961, p. 398).

It is noteworthy that with the residence pattern in which men live on lineage land with their MB, it is precisely the rights of the paternal kin that are emphasized in customary rituals. Thus paternal kin have an important place in all *rites de passage:* first pregnancy, naming, first rice feeding, *tali*-tying, marriage, first menstruation, and death. At the naming ceremony, for instance, the infant's father's mother chooses the name, the father's father confers it, and the father gives a gold gift (Schneider and Gough, 1961, p. 401).

These rights and obligations are of interest in contrast to the Sinhalese, where residence tends to be patrilocal and where it is, in fact, the claims of the maternal kin that are given the most prominence in the various life-cycle ceremonies.

We should observe that even the joking relationship, which is an interesting feature of the Sinhalese cross-cousin relationship, is duplicated in North Malabar: "Male and female cross cousins had a joking relationship with implicit sexual privileges." And, of course, marriage was initiated with the "gift of the cloth."

So far as the general structure is concerned, there is little doubt as to where we are. However, we are not given much information regarding endogamy and hypergamy. Gough notes only incidentally that "ordinary" Nambiars . . . married exclusively with each other" (1955*a*, p. 56), which suggests kin group endogamy with a likely diminution of unilineal descent ideology in such groups. Gough elsewhere also observes in passing that there were "hypergamous marriages in aristocratic lineages" (1961, p. 400), which conforms to the idea expressed above. Since the pattern can be seen with greater clarity in the evidence regarding the Cochin aristocrats, I refrain from discussing the question of hypergamy here.

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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NORTH TIYYAR

The organization of kinship among the Tiyyar is so similar to the Nayar castes that an extended discussion is unnecessary. Gough observes a difference of degree in the question of the locality of marriage: whereas Nayar men may return to the lands of their MB and marry there, the Tiyyar tend to be grouped together in patrilocal clusters, except that there are some among them who also return to live with their MB (1961, p. 409). These slight differences are unlikely to be of great significance, for the reader should recall that many of these marriages take place in the same village or area, that in this region houses and huts are easy to build and that Nayar men tend to build houses for their wives and children as well.

In Gough's writings the similarity of the kin structure between the Tiyyar and the Sinhalese is particularly evident. The claims of the cross-cousins upon each other, the categorical Dravidian terminology, the nature of the marriage tie, and the various details of custom clearly indicate that we are dealing with the same cultural idiom.

The claims of the MB and FZ are manifested in *rites de passage*. In the *tali* ceremony (which is the well-known prepuberty rite in this area) both these persons appear, and the FZ (or MB wife) ties the *tali* as a "potential mother-in-law" (Gough, 1955*a*, p. 58).

The role of the cross-cousins is perhaps more revealing. "The cross-cousin's claim to become a girl's husband . . . must be met at the . . . marriage ceremony if the girl marries some other man. As the couple leave the house, the girl's cross-cousin steps forward in mock attack . . . He is bought off by the bridegroom with a nominal fee and the couple then pass unmolested" (Gough, 1955*a*, p. 59).[8] This symbolic statement is identical to the Sinhalese, where the cross-cousin stops the bridal couple at the gate and demands his rights. He is given one hundred betel leaves and the couple moves on.

The Tiyyar of Cochin

It is intriguing to study the kin structure of the Tiyyar caste South Malabar and Cochin—the same term as in North Malabar—which

[8] There is an interesting contradiction in Gough's materal: though she writes of the similarity of the Nayar and the Tiyyar, she notes that with the Tiyyar the MBS (i.e., FZD) is the correct marriage partner (1955*a*, p. 57), whereas with the Nayar the FZS (i.e., MBD) is considered the rightful claimant (1961, p. 398). In view of Dumont's discussion, it would be interesting to know whether significant preferences are involved. Gough does not pursue the matter, but given the contradictions involved in patrilateral cross-cousin marriage (e.g., it cannot be combined with hypergamy rules) it is likely that Gough is merely using a shorthand formula for symmetrical cross-cousin marriage.

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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here turns out to be patrilineal and patrilocal. We shall see that, as usual, the question of descent is attached to the same general structures as elsewhere.

We first note that the "patrilineage" of the South is called a *taravad* like the matrilineal units of the Nayar. The patrilineage is reported to be exogamous with a depth of five to seven generations united by the worship of lineage gods, ancestors, and snakes. Marriage tends to be patrilocal, and one of the interesting features of the Tiyyar of this area is that, as with the Sinhalese, polyandrous marriages are freely permitted. A woman is married to a group of brothers who have access to her, it is said, by order of seniority. The ceremony of marriage again involves the gift of the cloth, and we note the custom of feeding the groom or grooms and the bride with porridge and milk as with various groups in Ceylon.

Inheritance is in the male line, but women retain rights in their natal household. Indeed, this right is expressed in the customary relations between brothers and sisters. At divorce, the woman returns to her brother. Her eldest brother is considered her guardian. At the death of a married woman, her brothers and their children observe ritual pollution. At the death of a man, his sister's sons observe pollution and perform mourning offerings to his spirit.

The customary claim of the MB and the FZ are given recognition in numerous ceremonies. In the prepuberty rituals, a girl goes through a mock-marriage ceremony with a boy from a "lineage" into which she might marry, who clearly stands to her in the relation of cross-cousin. Her "mother's brother's wife" (FZ?) parts her hair in certain pregnancy ceremonies. The ritual husband-boy is brought by his MB, and the girl by her MB. The boy places the *tali* necklace—indicative of married status—on her neck, where it is tied by her FZ.

Gough notes that cross-cousin marriage is "preferential," though with the observation that it is not "enjoined to the extent" that it is in the North (1955*a*, p. 62). It is clear that this statement refers to actual cross-cousin, not categorical cross-cousin, marriage. We are informed that parallel cousins on both sides are tabooed and must conclude that here again we have the Dravidian pattern of categorical cross-cousin marriage.

I have no information about the terminology of reference or address, though it seems likely that terms of reference, at least, are identical to those of the North Tiyyar.

I think that all the elements of the general structure can be detected in this system. There is categorical cross-cousin marriage, and the various claims of the MB and FZ upon Ego are indicated in ritual terms. This is quite in accordance, as we noted before, with the strong

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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Let us now return to the facts:

The Nayar family in Cochin and South Malabar (also referred to as Central Kerala) is also organized on the principles of the matrilineal *taravad*. Among ordinary people, matrilineal groups beyond the household are barely recognized for most intents and purposes, but among the wealthy and aristocratic classes, the *taravad* finds an impressive elaboration. Gough presents the ideal model as a matrilineal clan with localized matri-lines all of which are exogamous. The women have equal or hypergamous connections with men of other *taravad* or castes, whereas the men visit women of lower *taravad*. The residential pattern is that brothers and sisters live in the same household and men visit their "wives" in their own households. This contrasts with the North Nayar picture in which women join their husbands in their houses, and with the Mapilla picture (their Muslim neighbors) in which the men join their wives in the houses as in Ceylon. Of course, in a climate and region where houses are easily built and where the kin of both the husband and the wife are quite likely to be in the near vicinity of the married couple, if not in the same community, these residential arrangements may be looked upon primarily as symbolic statements of "difference" rather than fundamental differences in kinship systems and sentiments.

We may now raise further questions:

First: to what extent does our previous discussion of the general structure help us to understand the Nayar situation? A careful examination of the data makes it clear that the Nayar family in Cochin and South Malabar presents a further elaboration upon the Dravidian theme. It should be emphasized that this is hardly the impression one would have received from the earlier work of Gough. It is curious to observe, as Dumont (1961*a*) does, to what extent Gough's picture of the Nayar situation has progressively altered from one in which there were matrilineages with hardly any recognition of the role of the *pater*, to one in which the father and his kin are recognized and "preferential" cross-cousin marriage is at least observed. The change in point of view is a sobering thought as far as "objective" anthropology is concerned: for a perusal of the writings of this highly observant and careful author shows that she is using an African model (including concepts of clanship and ties of ritual collaboration) in her earlier work. It is only very gradually that she comes around to consider her material in its context in South India.

As far as we can observe, the kin terminology of the high-caste Nayar of Cochin and South Malabar is structurally identical to that of North Malabar and hence to the Dravidian terminology of cross-cousin marriage, with one significant difference: there appears to be no term for actual cross-cousins. It is true that Gough does not provide

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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(1961*b*, pp. 20 ff.), and it is important in tying the Nayar material into the South Indian picture.

With all these similarities, in what sense, then, is this system a logical elaboration of the general structure? What makes the structure of kinship among the aristocratic Nayar a special case is that in it we find again the combination of hypergamy and unilineal descent.

As we noted above, extensive hypergamy in the context of matrilineage results in a consistent differentiation of status between lineages, and it allows special ritual status to be claimed by each autonomous matrilineage. It will be observed that matrilateral cross-cousin marriage is the only consistent pattern that can be associated with the hypergamous and matrilineal kin structure described above.

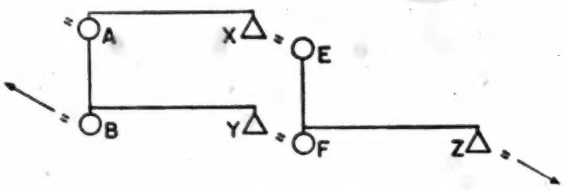

Figure 38. Matrilateral cross-cousin marriage.

In figure 38, sister A establishes a *sambandam* connection with a person of superior status. Her children, B and Y (members of the matrilineage), are themselves superior in status to the children of their MB (X), who has a *sambandam* with a woman of equal or lower status to himself (E). Hence if cross-cousin marriage is to take place, the MBD (F) may be hypergamously connected with Y (i.e., matrilateral cross-cousin marriage), but B, like her mother A, will be given further up the hierarchy and cannot be permitted to have *sambandam* with Z (i.e., patrilateral cross-cousin marriage).

We should note in passing that this association of MBD marriage and hypergamy in these castes is a remarkable corroboration of Leach's hypothesis regarding the structural implications of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage systems. Leach (1951) writes of patrilineal systems associated with hypogamy (women go down) among the Kachin. It is certainly salutary to find that this mirror-image of Leach's model, that is, matrilateral cross-cousin marriage in a matrilineal context, is associated with hypergamy, asymmetry, and distinctions of status.

To return to Malabar, the combination of matrilineal descent together with the rules of hypergamy is consistent with great differentiation of status between the descent groups—so much so that in the proliferation of descent groups it appears to be difficult, indeed impossible, to say where one caste ends and the other begins. Some de-

4: Yalman E-4,5 (1954-1956) 1971 AX4 Sinhalese
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121 564 611 [171] scent groups may be generally placed in the highest categories and still be connected by a chain of descending unions with such categories as the Sudra. To recall the situation in Ceylon, such groups as the Karava (Fishers), who are usually seen as a "separate" caste in other parts of the island, are associated with the hierarchy of Vellalar matrilineal descent groups on the eastern littoral. Thus, in the Malabar context, too, a category such as Nayar covers a wide spectrum of ranked descent groups. Gough suggests that apart from the royal matrilineages of the various kingdoms, it is possible to detect five subcategories of Nayar groups (1961, pp. 308–309): (*a*) Kiriattil and Vellayma Nayar, (*b*) Puratta Charna (Outdoor Retainers) Nayar (but these have subdivisions such as Paricha Menon (Leaders of the Shield), (*c*) Agatta Charna (Indoor Retainers) Nayar, (*d*) Pallichan Nayar, and (*e*) Sudra Nayar. This is not a hard and fast hierarchy and we are told (p. 309) that "In some districts they ranked in the order given and men of the higher [category] might marry women of the lower [category]; the reverse was in theory forbidden. In other districts the [categories] seem to have disputed for precedence and *not to have regularly intermarried*" (my italics).

121 564 613 It is clear that in this system it is possible, for instance, to have at the top a single matrilineage whose men may be connected to a small group of matrilineages who are equals and who marry among themselves. They in turn may be connected with a larger group of matrilineages of a still lower caste, and so on. Furthermore, actual *sambandam* connections may or may not be systematically established between the levels. As long as the principles are clear, it hardly matters what the status-bearing groups are called: in widening circles we have the matrilineage, which may be part of a hypergamous cluster (category), which in turn may be part of a more inclusive "subcaste" or indeed an endogamous caste.

121 114 564 613 Also in the Cochin region, according to Gough (1961, p. 319), hypergamy is a custom of the aristocratic matrilineages and is associated with the prestige of unilineal descent, whereas in the levels "below the Nayar temple menials" the categories were endogamous "as is usual in the caste system throughout India."

[833] [554] Why hypergamy at the aristocratic levels? Gough in answer to this question has taken a curious combination of materialist-psychoanalytic arguments: it is her theory that hypergamy accords with the power structure of the political system and with the special reasons why virgins must be deflowered by powerful men before they are safe for ordinary mortals (see Gough 1955*a* and 1961, *passim*).

Dumont has proposed an important, but very different, answer. He notes rightly that the most powerful and superior Nayar lineage still had hypergamous connections with Brahman who were ritually su-

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perior but politically inferior to the royal lineages. This would indicate that the arguments emanating from the power structure are of limited value. Nor does the psychoanalytic argument carry conviction (see Yalman, 1963).

Dumont further suggests that the Nayar position has significant cultural affinities to certain practices of the Basavi. Among the Basavi, a girl is given in marriage to a god. She may then be approached by all kinds of men, and the children she may bear belong to her own family. Thus by virtue of her marriage to a god, her children are freed from the constraints of the rule of patrilineal descent and follow matrilineal descent. In the same fashion, Dumont thinks the girls of aristocratic matrilineages are married to Nambudiri Brahman, who are referred to as "Gods of the Earth."

Dumont's point is worth making, for it shows the element of piety involved in these customs which have been severely misunderstood in India and elsewhere. The man of the matrilineage sacrifices his own children (who belong to others) in order to give his sister to a god and keep her children.

This may indeed be one of the cultural dimensions of hypergamy in this region, but the system is so clearly and effectively associated with the fundamental structural principles of matrilineal descent groups in a caste context that the specific cultural features (piety, etc.) do not need to be treated as a necessary part of the picture. A similar set of structural circumstances gives rise to an essentially similar picture in Ceylon.

The general principles of status differentiation in Cochin have been subsumed under the following ideal formula by Karve (1953, p. 269):

Nambudiri	m.	marries	Nambudiri	f.	Children become	Nambudiri	
Nambudiri	m.	=	Ksatriya	f.	Children =	Kshatriya	
Ksatriya	m.	=	Ksatriya	f.	Children =	non-Kshatriya [*sic.*]	
Nambudiri	m.	=	Nayar	f.	Children =	Nayar, status 1	
Ksatriya	m.	=	Nayar	f.	Children =	Nayar, status 2	
Nayar	m.	=	Nayar	f.	Children =	Nayar, status 3	

It is quite clear that we find the matrilineal *taravad* in its most impressive development as a corporation precisely at the highest levels of society. At the other end of the scale we have only the desire for prestige:

The Tharvad is always named after an ancestress and referred to as the Tharvad of so and so (woman). If a man does not belong to a Tharvad he is not respected and I was told by an officer in a mill that though he was well educated and a salaried man he had not the requisite social position as

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121 564 613 they were landless orphans. If he bought land, built a house and settled there with his sister, bringing up her children, he would gain social status. He said he knew of many a poor labourer serving in the mill, saving money to establish a Tharvad in his sister's name and become "somebody" in his caste. (Karve, 1953, p. 267)

The problem of finding suitable husbands for the women of aristocratic matrilineal Tharvads has been solved by the Nambudiri Brahman connection in Cochin. The situation is not very different with North Malabar aristocrats. We are told that the Kolattiri lineage had difficulty in getting accepted as of high status among the ancient "Kshatriya" lineages of Kottayam and Kurumbranad, so the Kolattiri Rajas brought a caste called Koil Tamburan from Travancore. "Kolattiri women married Koil Tamburan or Nambudiri men and Kolattiri men Samantan Nambiar or Nambiar women" (Gough, 1955*a*, p. 56).

Karve with her usual insight and evocative examples puts the issue simply (1953, pp. 258–259): "The Kshatriyas claim descent from the sun-family of the ancient Hindu Kshatriyas of the north—the house of Rama. All the sons born in Kshatriya families, i.e., ruling houses of Travancore and Cochin have Sanskrit names of the Sun-god with the suffix varmā . . . We have already seen that in olden times as a rule and even now generally the Kshatriya women have Nambudiri Brahmins as husbands. . . . There is a village near Cochin belonging to a rich Nayar Thārvad . . . which is called the 'village of evening visits of the Nambudris.' " And this accurate and colorful picture is rounded up with the direct statement, "Among poorer Nayars cross-cousin marriage is favoured."

Other Evidence from Malabar

121 611 We have considered the evidence from Malabar from the point of view of other South Indian systems and have, I believe, been able to establish both the principles of the general structure and the association of systems of hypergamy with unilineal descent. A further point to note is that systems of descent, at least in this region, could be considered as a secondary feature to a large extent independent of the specific forms of kinship and marriage. Very similar groups appear to follow different forms of descent in various regions. We should [191] recall that even the Sinhalese, who are regarded as being "patrilineal" by many authors today, followed "matrilineal" descent at least among the royal family in the seventeenth century. And conversely one author has noted that in some parts of Kerala "the Nairs also follow the father right social system" (D'Souza, 1959, p. 493).

[564] There is a vast body of literature, especially in connection with

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Malabar, in which patrilineal and matrilineal castes who are similar in their kinship customs are described, and again we find that other sections of the same casts are patrilineal or matrilineal in different localities. In parts of Ceylon I would hear villagers suggest that sons took their "names" from their father and daughters from their mother, a reflection not so much of descent (for these ideas were not applied in practice) but of the difference between the sexes.

Even the Muslims are not very different. On the Malabar coast the diversity of origins in the Muslim community can be easily traced in the complex body of customs, appellations, different signs, and practice whereby subgroups appear to distinguish one another. Gough (1961) has discussed some features of the matrilineal Muslims (Mapilla); D'Souza (1959) in a carefully documented article observes that, leaving aside a special group who call themselves *Arabi* and attempt to follow traditional Islam, Muslims in general conform to the patterns of kinship usual in Malabar and are divided into patrilineal and matrilineal *taravads* (p. 492). Moreover, in the case of patrilineal *taravads*, several of them again come together to form an *endogamous* group; hence in any locality there are several endogamous Moplah groups (p. 493). He goes on to make the following observation (p. 498):

> In the coastal North Malabar, as one proceeds southwards to places like Quilandy and Badagara, the mother right social organization undergoes a change. The change becomes quite distinct in the coastal region of South Malabar. The change in mother right traits . . . may be primarily attributed to the fact that whereas in North Malabar the ancestral property is inherited exclusively in the female line, in the south it is inherited . . . in the male line. But the social organization is essentially mother right and the modifications are such as suit the change in the principle of inheritance.

It is not merely this shifting picture of descent and inheritance which strikes one as being entirely in line with the material collected by Iyer (1909, 1912, 1937) in all kinds of small caste groups, for D'Souza (1959, p. 502) firmly establishes that the Muslim Mapilla also follow the Nambudiri–Nayar model of hypergamy with considerable dedication: "For instance, the Thangal males can marry women from any other groups of Moplahs [Mapilla] but Thangal women cannot marry any man other than a Thangal. An Arabi male can marry any [Mapilla] woman other than a Thangal, but the Arabi woman can marry, besides an Arabi male, only a Thangal male, and so on."

There is little doubt that the marriage customs recorded by D'Souza bear a close similarity to those recorded for the Moors of Ceylon earlier in this volume. D'Souza's evidence on names is not directed to the question of hypergamy and prestige, but it does appear that names

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121 551 are perpetuated as indices of status—to the extent, indeed, that with the matrilineal Thangal group, who also claim patrilineal descent from the Prophet, an elaborate combination of patronymics and matronymics has been developed (1959, p. 501).

CONCLUSION

121 171 In view of the great number of communities that have remained untouched, the evidence considered in detail may seem to offer only a very narrow theoretical base. This is not so. We have attempted to show that the general structural model may be connected to a great variety of descent patterns. Only a few cases would be sufficient to demonstrate the point. We have found many more. We have also noted the interesting balance in the customary recognition given to the formal claims of the paternal and maternal relatives upon the children of the marriage. In structures such as the Tanjore Brahman, 121 593 where the father-son relationship is assured by common residence and inheritance, it is precisely the rights of the MB which are elaborated [604] [764] at all *rites de passage*, and the ZS has formal obligations at this man's funeral.

121 593 764 In the matrilineal structure of Malabar and Ceylon we find in contrast that the great proliferation of ceremonial is concerned with the rights and obligations of the father. Quite apart from the entire complex of *Tali kettu kalyanam* in Malabar, we may note that the obligations of the son at this father's funeral receive special emphasis, particularly among the Nayar. As Fawcett notes in connection with Nayar [604] funerals: "The deceased's younger brother, or, if there is none surviving, his nephew (his sister's eldest son) sets fire to the pyre at the head of the corpse. If the deceased left a son, this son sets fire at the same time to the pyre at the foot of the corpse" (Thurston, 1906, p. [171] 209). At this most solemn occasion the Nayar and the Kandyan Sinhalese agree on balancing the obligations of the offspring of brother and sister, for with the Sinhalese, too, the ZS as well as the son must partake in the final rites of a man.

121 593 605 There is always the emphasis on the connections between the children of the brother and the sister. Brother and sister must be separated, but their offspring must also be united. Dumont writes of the double principles of consanguinity and affinity, but it seems that the 121 602 two must be intermeshed to protect and perpetuate the purity of the family. Perhaps this is an aspect of the union of those divine creative principles which one hears so much about in Indian philosophy: 171 812 male and female, man and wife, the Brahman Lord and his consort, Shiva and Shakti. These are two, but they are also one.

77 [601] Even the terminology of kinship exemplifies the idea of the union

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of the two principles in one. Thus, such terms as *massina* (Sinh. and Tamil) and its variants *maittunan* or *maccinan* (Tamil) and *maiduna* (Kannada), all of which carry the implication of cross-cousins who are expected to unite, appear to be derived from the Sanskrit *maiduna* or *mithuna* which also refers to the sexual intercourse between the god Shiva and the goddess Shakti, who are both one and two.[10] The depiction of them in the very act of union (*mithuna*) is one of the intriguing motifs in Indian religious sculpture, a form of art which in its formal beauty and religious expressiveness is almost unmatched.

These ideas are not intended to be mysterious. They are simply the logical implications of caste principles carried to their very limit in the highest caste. There should be no doubt at all that Indian thinkers, great logicians and great mystics, should have been concerned with the ultimate origin of purity.[11]

A conception such as this, the union of man and wife, who are also the children of a brother and sister, allows us to observe the principle of *jati* ("caste," but also birth, category) from the inside. The narrowest circle is the individual. Then the couple, ideally cross-cousins. Then the small circle of kin who intermarry with one another. And going on from this, wider and wider concentric circles and the more inclusive categories of caste. The patterns of North India are likely to be different, but the principles of caste endogamy are intimately related to the family in South India and Ceylon.

Our itinerary has now been completed. We started from a mountain village in Ceylon and widening our investigations have ended up in South India. Behind the great differences in thought and behavior, we have found that the general principles of kinship appear to have considerable uniformity in this region. Ostensibly, kinship systems can be classified as matrilineal, patrilineal, hypergamous, and bilateral in Ceylon: a rapid journey through the Tamil-speaking parts, the Nilgiri Hills, and the Malabar coast has made us aware that a similar classification is possible in South India. But all these variations appear to exist within the framework of principles common to all the groups we have considered.

It is to be hoped that it will be possible in the future to carry the work farther north in order to learn whether South Indian structures are transformed into North Indian structures. In the realm of kin structure in South India and Ceylon, we appear to be dealing with

[10] On the etymology of the terms see Karve (1953), p. 209.

[11] It seems possible that one of the simplest and most frequent ritual acts in Ceylon and South India—the splitting of a coconut into two and allowing the liquid inside to run out—may be a part of *mithuna* symbolism. For the coconut has a *male* and a *female* end: in the act the male and the female are split. This is an idea of wide prevalence in Ceylonese ritual; see Yalman (1966).

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121 the dialects of a common language. It is curious that principles of
171 social organization should take us back to systems of communication.

I do not wish to reify the principles of South Indian kinship into something distinct from certain categories of thought and certain patterns of behavior. In all our work there is always this curious dialectic between the fact and the idea, between action and thought, between constructs of the mind and the activities of men. But both sides of the dialectic can be regarded as emanating from the same traditional "structure" behind both the thought and the act. It is noteworthy to observe how the form of the "structure" varies in a given region like the dialects of a language. Yet the variations appear as logical permutations of a limited set of principles. Again like language, the principles are clearly not embedded in the utilitarian particularities of specific social systems. They appear to be certain fundamental principles of organization which are behind the various manifestations of specific social patterns. In this sense what we call "social structure" corresponds to a grammar which relates the activities of individuals to one another and makes communication and order possible in social life.